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ABSTRACT

Revised texts of five papers from a conference on Dutch applied linguistics are presented. "Learning a Foreign Language in a Natural Acquisition Context Without Instruction" (Wolfgang Klein) advocates observing and analyzing language learning in progress in natural language learning contexts and presents data from a European project on second language acquisition by adult immigrants. "Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition" (Peter Jordens) examines the relationships between linguistics and second language learning. The discussion touches on contrastive analysis as an explanatory model, then looks at the interlanguage model and the possible relevance of markedness theory, and gives attention to universal grammar. In "Ethnic Minorities, Language Diversity, and Educational Implications: A Case Study on the Netherlands" (Guus Extra), cross-national trends in Western Europe, especially ethnic minorities in the Netherlands are noted and the consequences of language diversity in elementary, secondary, and adult education are examined. "Three Decades of Foreign Language Teaching in the Netherlands" (Arthur van Essen) reviews developments in Dutch foreign language teaching in the past few decades, drawing from experience and existing literature. "Policy-Making in Foreign Language Teaching" (Theo van Els) discusses the role applied linguists may play in policy formation in foreign language instruction, based on recent Dutch educational history. (MSE)

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BALANCE & PERSPECTIVE

25 years of Dutch Applied Linguistics

toegepaste taalwetenschap in artikelen 36

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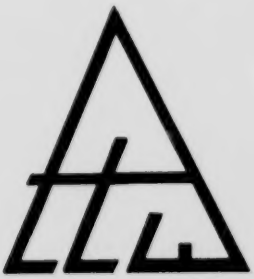

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Preface

Every six months the Dutch Association of Applied Linguistics (:ANéLA) organizes a one-day conference, as a rule organized around a series of about 15 papers on a particular topic or theme. The papers, normally, are published in the Association's journal, *Toegepaste Taalwetenschap in Artikelen* (: 'Applied Linguistics in Articles').

The present issue contains the revised texts of the five papers read at last year's autumn conference. That conference was different from other conferences of the Association in a number of respects. First of all, it was a joint enterprise with the Department of Applied Linguistics of the University of Nijmegen. The Department celebrated its 25th anniversary, and the conference formed part of the celebrations. For once, therefore, the programme committee only consisted of members of staff of the Department, who subsequently also acted as guest editors of this issue of the journal. Moreover, the day's programme consisted of plenary papers only, five in all, which together were to cover the major areas of research relevant to second and foreign language teaching. The contributors were asked to pay some attention, if possible, also to the historical dimension and to prospects for the future.

Wolfgang Klein, co-director of the Nijmegen Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, addresses the question how people set about learning a foreign language in a natural acquisition context without instruction. He strongly advocates observing and analyzing the facts of actual language learning in progress under such circumstances. Klein presents some data from the European Science Foundation project on second language acquisition by adult immigrants.
Peter Jordens, Professor of Applied Linguistics at the Free University of Amsterdam, probes the relationships between linguistics and second language acquisition. He touches upon contrastive analysis as an explanatory model, then deals with the interlanguage model and discusses the possible relevance of markedness theory, and, finally, devotes a great deal of attention to the Universal Grammar framework, in particular to the notion of innateness and to parameters and parameter setting. His conclusion is that L2-data are of little use to linguistic research, whereas L2 acquisition research can gain a great deal from linguistic research.
Guus Extra, Professor of Applied Linguistics at the University of Tilburg (:Language and Minorities), after giving some information on

crossnational trends in Western Europe and, more particularly, on ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, deals with the consequences of language diversity in the domains of elementary, secondary and adult education. In all cases attention is paid to both first and second language use by ethnic minority groups. The paper ends with some major conclusions, especially regarding future developments.

Arthur van Essen, Reader in Applied Linguistics at the University of Groningen, reviews developments in foreign language teaching in the Netherlands during the past few decades, on the basis of both eyewitness accounts and written reports. His written sources are every fifth volume of the journal of the Dutch Association of Teachers of Foreign Languages (*'Levende Talen'*), starting with the year 1959, and also a number of widely used coursebooks.

Theo van Els, Professor of Applied Linguistics at the University of Nijmegen, discusses the role applied linguists may legitimately play in actual policy making in the field of foreign language teaching. In his paper he reviews a number of cases in the recent history of the field in the Netherlands. In the final part - by way of example - he also, briefly, goes into some aspects of a project on foreign language teaching policy, led by himself, concerning the development of a 'National Action Programme for Modern Foreign Languages'.

Nijmegen, July 1990

Theo Bongaerts
Kees de Bot
Theo van Els

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LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN A NATURAL ACQUISITION CONTEXT WITHOUT INSTRUCTION

Wolfgang Klein
Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics
Nijmegen

In this paper I will, in a somewhat informal way, try to characterise the initial stages of the developmental route which L2 learners follow when they acquire the target language in a "natural" context without formal instruction. To set the scene for this paper, I will start with a little story. I recently had a conversation with a colleague of mine at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics at Nijmegen. He had just returned from Turkey, where he had been teaching at the University of Ankara for about four weeks. It had been quite an experience, he said, not only at school, but also, and much more so, outside the university, out in the streets, in town. He said that he had felt lost, completely so, for the first time in his life. He did not understand a word of what was being said around him, nor did anyone understand a word of what he was saying. That was an experience he had never had before. He had been in foreign countries before, but most people spoke some English or German or French or some other language he was not totally unfamiliar with. This was the first time he could not make himself understood at all: he found himself in a kind of social vacuum. My colleague experienced this situation for only a few weeks, but for a lot of people, e.g. the Turks from Anatolia coming to the Netherlands or Germany, this situation is not an uncommon one: generally they will not understand a word of the language spoken around them, nor can they express themselves in the language of the host country. This really is a threatening situation and it should be added that, generally speaking, the natives of the host countries are much less friendly to the Turks than the Turks would be to them in Ankara.

One of the things that help a person in such a situation is the remarkable capacity we have for learning a language, for picking up, in the sound stream, some elements of the information which permanently impinges on our ears. It is precisely this topic - how people get to learn the target language in such situations - that is addressed in the present paper. In doing so, the L2 learner can draw on three things:

1. the L2 input with which he is continually confronted;
2. the innate, genetically given capacity which humans possess for learning languages;

3. his knowledge of his native language.

These three things together make it possible for him to acquire the target language and to become accommodated to some extent. This kind of second language acquisition is very different from the kind of second language learning which takes place in the classroom. What this paper is concerned about, therefore, is second language acquisition taking place via everyday communication.

How does language acquisition proceed in such a situation? Take the case of an Italian learner of English we studied recently. After some four or five months he had picked up nouns like 'Mary', 'Charlie', 'man', 'girl', 'bread', plus some thirty of forty other nouns. He had also picked up a couple of verbs, e.g. 'see', 'come', 'laugh', and some twenty more. And finally, he had acquired some function words like 'he' and 'this' and some adverbials like 'then', 'there', and 'often'.

Table 1: Elementary repertoire of an L2 learner after 4 or 5 months

- Mary, Charlie, man, girl, car, bread,....+ 30-40 other Ns (or NPs)
- see, come, laugh, take, hit, walk,....+ 20 other Vs
- he, that,....+ 5 or 6 other pronouns
- then, there, often, in, and, not,.....+ 10 other 'particles'

At that point, there was no inflection whatsoever in the L2 speech of our learner. This elementary repertoire is what he had picked up after four or five months of L2 acquisition. Of course, a language does not consist of single words. Somehow larger utterances have to be understood and produced and the important question is how do L2 acquirers go about putting together the words they have picked up?

Imagine, now, you are in the kind of situation I have described above and you have the same elementary repertoire at your disposal as the real learner in our study. How would you go about putting these words together, if you want to express something simple like "Charlie stole a bread"? Remember you have acquired the words you need to express the content of that utterance. You have the words 'Charlie', 'steal' and 'bread', but you have not yet acquired inflection. How do you put these words together, if you want the addversee to understand your message?

I am convinced that you would very likely say something like 'Charlie steal bread'. Why would you construct your sentence in this way and not in another way? This is because you have a very clear idea that the subject comes first, the object at the end and the verb in the middle. Now, this 'rule' does not hold for all languages; it does not hold for Turkish, for example. So, why don't you say "Charlie bread steal"? These are the kind of questions we want to be able to answer.

When you start analysing data like the above, you would probably begin with considering certain hypotheses on how to proceed in principle. Here is a list of a number of 'possible' hypotheses:

Table 2: Eight hypotheses on early L2 sentence construction

"Charlie stole a bread"

A1: Shortest unit comes first
A2: Verb comes first
A3: Morphologically unmarked NP ('nominative') comes first

B1: Animate entities are named first
B2: Agents come first

C1: An entity referred to before comes first ('maintenance before introduction')
C2: Entity which is most important for communication comes first
C3: Entity which the speaker thinks is best known to the listener comes first ('from known to unknown')

For example, you might follow a very clear and simple maxim like A1: "The shortest unit comes first". This is a very clear principle indeed, but which everyone would agree is absolute nonsense. You can apply it, but this, we think, is not the way in which languages work. The funny thing is, actually, that it does hold, but possibly as a consequence of other factors: pronouns are generally very short and if pronouns occur, they are generally put in initial position at first. But nobody would assume that pronouns typically occur in initial positions because they are short: one would assume there to be functional reasons for this position. So, the maxim "shortest unit comes first" can be dismissed as a serious candidate. Next, consider a principle like A2: "Verb comes first". Such a rule would not do for German, Dutch or English, but might do for other languages. Note that in order to follow this rule, you must not only know the meaning of the verb, but also that the word in initial position *is* a verb; and that is not a trivial issue, depending on your native language.

Another possibility is to follow A3: "Morphologically unmarked noun phrase (nominative) comes first". This is somewhat trickier; such a rule presupposes that a) you know what a nominative in the language concerned is; b) that you yourself have mastered the morphological system of that language at least to some extent; and c) that there is a distinction between nominative and accusative noun phrases, which is not the case in the example from the learner given above.

We now come to some principles of a different type. According to one such principle, B1, "Animate entities are named first". This again is a 'possible' principle which you could apply with ease, because it can be assumed that you will be able to distinguish between animate and inanimate entities, and the principle would work in "Charlie stole a bread". If you have to decide between "Charlie" and "bread" (this criterion does not

apply to "steal"), you would say 'Charlie is animate and comes first' and this decision would be correct. So the principle works, but it does not work for all constructions. It might be the case that there are two animate entities or that none of the entities is animate. According to another principle, B2, "Agents come first". This principle would also apply for the example sentence given above, but not necessarily for all sentences (German is a case in point here).

Finally, I would like to present some 'possible' principles of yet another kind. One of them is C1: "An entity referred to before comes first", or, in other words, maintenance comes before introduction. So, if one decides on a new entity to talk about, one would tend to place it at the end. Another principle of this kind is C2: "Entity which is most important for communication comes first" (or possibly last). Again, this seems to be a plausible principle in many cases, but it presupposes that you are able to make out what the most important entity is. The last 'possible' principle I would like to offer for consideration is C3: "Entity which speaker thinks is best known to the listener comes first". This is again a principle which posits that "known" precedes "unknown". This principle, which was advanced in general terms by Behaghel as early as around 1930, is a very general principle which has an essential role to play in nearly all grammars.

What I have demonstrated just now is not what really happens. It is something you might conceivably do in a situation like the one described above and it might be what a researcher studying L2 acquisition in such situations might assume would happen. There are many more principles or maxims we could think of, but the ones discussed here suffice to illustrate my point.

What do you do as a researcher who wants to know how L2 learners put their words together, or, to put it differently, construct their syntax? I believe one should not speculate, but adhere to a maxim which the philosopher Wittgenstein once clearly stated, which runs as follows: "Denk nicht, sondern schau". A linguist interpreting this maxim would go to his books and look into the linguistic literature. It's my firm conviction that you should not look into the speculations of linguists on this issue. They do not know. What you have to do, really, is to look at the facts. You have to study the situations in which learners have to acquire and use the target language, and that is exactly what we did.

Before presenting some results, I will give some information on the aims and design of the European Science Foundation project on second language acquisition by adult immigrants. This was a six-year project in which five different countries participated. The project coordination took place at the Max Planck Institute at Nijmegen, but the actual work was done at local centres, in Tilburg, Heidelberg, London, Gothenburg, Paris, and Aix-en-Provence. What we were particularly interested in, was the combination of various source languages and target languages, or, in other words, native languages and (second) languages to be learned, in order to find out in what way the various structures of these languages

influenced the acquisition of target language syntax. The design of the project was something like this:

Figure 1: Design of the ESF project

Our subjects were all adult immigrants (mainly unskilled workers), aged between 18 and 40 years at time of arrival. In England we studied how Punjabi- and Italian-speaking immigrants acquired English through everyday communication; in Germany we studied how people from Italy and Turkey learned German; in the Netherlands we studied how learners from Turkey and Morocco learned Dutch; in France we looked at the acquisition of French by native speakers of Arabic and Spanish; and, finally, in Sweden we studied how Spanish and Finnish-speakers learned Swedish. The study was a longitudinal one with some cross-sectional components and we concentrated our research on four learners, adults aged between about 20 and 30, for each group. So we had four Punjabi learners of English, four Italians learning English, etc.. A wealth of different data collection techniques was used. The basis for our work was provided by free conversation data: we talked to subjects at regular six-week intervals. We also collected personal narrative data by asking subjects to tell about certain incidents in their lives, such as conflict situations. Another technique we used was role play: we put our subjects in a certain situation in which they had to enact a particular role. A fourth technique was film retelling: we showed our subjects a brief sketch from a Charlie Chaplin movie and we asked them to retell what was shown to them. Still another technique was what one might call self-confrontation: we had recorded our subjects' speech and we played the recording back to them and asked them to comment on it in their native language. We asked them what they had been thinking and what they had really meant to say.

Second language acquisition as a very complex and comprehensive process, with a lot of different things going on at the same time.

We decided to focus our analysis on the following six domains:

1. The expression of time.
2. The expression of space.
3. The development of utterance structure.
4. Lexical growth.
5. Feedback in native-non native interaction
6. Reasons for misunderstanding.

The real study was done in two steps. First, we did a small pilot experiment and then we applied the methods and observations developed to all the learners in our study. Here we are mainly concerned with the data that we collected with the film retelling technique. What we wanted to find out, was how people put their words together as they retell the plot of the movie. We had a Readers Digest version of 'Modern Times', which was cut back to about 15 minutes. Then the set-up was as follows: the informant, the learner in this case, and another person, a native speaker of the language, watched the movie together for about 5 minutes, then the native speaker went out and the informant watched the rest to the end. He then had to retell what happened in the subsequent part. The idea was to create something like a common background, such that the main protagonists were known and the informant knew that the listener knew certain things. The main reason for using film retelling rather than normal narrative was that there had to be some sort of control on what our subjects wanted to say in a given case. This is much easier if there is some kind of common background: usually we knew what they wanted to say in a given utterance. This gives a much better handle for the analysis of the learner's language.

In the pilot study we transcribed the data of three learners and looked at the utterances to see what they did and how they proceeded. We had to face all sorts of problems when analyzing the data. Very often you cannot decide right away which principle the learner follows. As you go on, unclear cases disappear and you get a converging picture. The outcomes of the pilot study were that, basically, there are three types of constraints which determine utterance structure.

First, there are phrasal constraints, i.e. syntactic constraints in the narrow sense of the term, which you can formulate in terms of phrase structure and syntactic categories like noun, verb or noun phrase, etc.. Utterances typically consisted of one (uninflected) verb or copula and one or two one noun phrases. In the former case, there are two possibilities: the noun may precede or follow the verb. We found cases of both, but the second one is much rarer and the noun phrases which appear in that position are, moreover, different from noun phrases in initial position. It is more difficult when there are two NP's. Then a very general principle holds, viz. that the verb is always in between, which is surprising for the Turkish learners. Again the NP's which appear in initial position and final position are a bit different: all NP's which show up after V can also be in first position, but not vice versa. In constructions with a copula, there is an NP first and an adjective or an adverb in final position, or vice versa. I should add that all these patterns can be followed or preceded by an adverbial. We found some more constraints, but this is the gist of what can be said about the learners' utterances in phrasal terms.

The second type of constraint is semantic. We found one perfectly consistent principle, which determines the speaker's choice. It can be stated in terms of role properties: controller first. The definition of controller is based on control asymmetry; it reflects the degree to which a referent is or intends to be in control of other referents. For example, in

the sentence 'Charlie stole the bread', which would be rendered 'Charlie steal bread' by most learners, "Charlie" would be far more in control of the situation than the other referent. For practical purposes controlles can mostly be equated with agent. There is a reason, however, why we do not call it agent: a classification into agent, patient, experiencer etc. is based on a kind of notional categorisation, rather than on a simple asymmetry. Such an asymmetry can be more or less clear. It is very clear in 'Charlie steal bread', whereas in 'Charlie loves girl', it is much less clear who is in control, and in fact, we note that our learners really get into trouble in such cases.

The third type of constraints are pragmatic ones, i.e. they are stateable in terms of 'given/new', communicative importance, and the like. And the main principle we find here is 'focus last'. (There is also a principle that elements already known tend to appear in initial position.) Let me briefly explain what I mean by focus. We can imagine that any declarative utterance answers an either explicit or implicit question and, since it might be implicit, I will call it a 'quaestio', the old Latin term. But the question may also be answered by a series of utterances. Suppose your wife comes in and she looks dishevelled, you ask 'what happened?' What follows normally is a series of utterances, a narrative, and this narrative in its entirety serves to answer one key question, the quaestio, which may or may not be explicit. The quaestio of a narrative is what happened to the protagonist at a certain time. The answer is a series of utterances and each utterance jumps to a new time. Exactly this happens in the case of the Charlie Chaplin retelling: the informant tells what happened to Charlie at time 1, 2, 3, etc.. This sequence is determined by the natural order principle, which has been described by authors such as Labov or Clark. The sequence of utterances which retell the film can be interrupted by other utterances which are directly related to the quaestio, but present supportive material. In the literature this is called background material; the foreground is the sequence of utterances which tell about the subsequent sub-events and answer the question. This can be interrupted by utterances such as 'This was last year' or 'That was terrible' or some background information. The quaestio imposes a number of constraints on the topic-focus structure of the foreground clauses and you can imagine that such foreground clauses assign a topic. The protagonist and the time described are the topic and the event as such or the next incident is focussed. That is why in all utterances the focus is on the verb or the last phrase, because they present the new event, the protagonist coming first. This, however, is not always the case. In a descriptive text the quaestio may not be 'what happens next?', but 'what does it look like?', and this leads to a different quaestio and topic-focus assignment and, accordingly, to a different utterance structure.

You can now generalize the findings to other types of discourse. Phrasal order is not the same, but we still can say that focus comes last, because the focus is different in all these cases. Within narratives the word order may be very different for background and foreground clauses. Foreground clauses answer the question of what happened next to the protagonist, the

focus being the new event; background clauses may be of a very different kind. There may be questions like: 'How did I feel then?', and this gives a very different focus, the focus being "How?", expressing the kind of feeling.

Let us return to the pilot study; we got the following picture. There are various types of constraints which determine the utterance structure: phrasal constraints, semantic constraints and pragmatic constraints. These interact in a certain way and, as we observed, they often lead to a relatively stable system, to a fossilized system of the language of foreign learners, which does not necessarily develop any further. The reason it fossilizes is that it satisfies the communicative purpose.

In our main study we looked at how learners proceed from this elementary system. This system is characterised, as we have seen, by several principles, which interact and determine the structure of utterances at a given point in time. As development continues, these principles still obtain and exist, but the way in which they interact and the weight the learner attaches to each of these principles change. Whenever the learner has analyzed an item from the input, he adds it to his language repertoire and this leads to a shift of balance. Therefore the whole mechanism of development is a *shift of balance between these constraints*.

We noted that there is some kind of crystallization point in the development. This point occurs precisely when the principles are at variance, when they conflict. Normally the narrative quaestio is what happened to a particular person at a particular time. Suppose Charlie is the protagonist and the message that Charlie stole the bread, then the event is focal, and the pragmatic constraint forces you to put the event, the stealing, in final position. At the same time, the semantic principle 'Controller first' places Charlie into initial position. So we end up with this utterance structure: 'Charlie steal bread'. But this is not the only possible topic-focus structure we could have. 'Who stole the bread'? is not a foreground question, but a background one. The controller is in first position, but the focus is all of a sudden on 'Charlie'. The pragmatic constraint then force you to put the stealing of the bread in first position and Charlie last as focus, in contrast to the semantic principle which requires to have the controller in initial position. There is a clash of principles here and our learners get into trouble, for example when it is not the stealing of the bread which is at issue, but WHO did it. In these cases, we get a variety of utterance structures. You could just rely on intonation, or you could apply inversion: 'Dann diese Brot nimmt Charlie', where Charlie is last. Or you could split it up in some way as one of our learners did: 'Charlie hatte das Brot in die Hand gehabt'. What you do here is just describe the result, but it does not give you the same focus structure. So it violates the focus constraint. Funnily enough, about five utterances later the learner, realizing he has made a mistake, does it the other way round: 'Das Brot hatte Charlie in dem Hand gehabt'. In our material we have dozens of examples of this sort. The claim is that these conflict cases constitute some kind of crystallization points where the

system does not work and where the learners have to invent additional constructions and use intonation. All languages have specific means to overcome these problems, and it is their devices which the learner must acquire.

It has also often been noticed that there is a lot of variation in SLA in everyday contact situations: individual learners do not all proceed in the same way. What happens is that learners pick up a certain construction which allows them to rearrange their balance in a certain way. A French learner may pick up the 'C'est'-construction, which is very salient, and this allows the learner to overcome all the topic-focus constraints. But it may also be the case that the learner first picks up some other construction which allows this. That would lead to a different balance, allowing a deviation from the 'control' structure in the sense mentioned above. Therefore, it is relatively natural that you get variation. But there is a more interesting point about variation: in the initial language learner the system is independent of the L1 and the target language. This is not true later on and we find overwhelming evidence that at this point the source language shows its influence. There are languages in which the principle that the focus should go last, is firmly established, and we observe that in conflict cases, in which the condition that makes you apply either the focus principle or another principle, forces you to put it in final position. Then, learners follow different strategies. Turkish learners of German NEVER violate the semantic principle, which is a major principle in their language. On the other hand, Italians do: they seem more free in this respect. Transfer, then, applies in the later stages and not in the initial ones.

My last point is a message. I did not quote common linguistic terms such as universals, etc. nor did I use terms like subject, object, noun phrase, etc.. I think we should look at what the learners do and commit ourselves as little as possible to terminology. We should also look at how learners approach the target language and not so much how theoretic linguists describe them. I believe target languages constitute, in a way, borderline cases of the acquisition process to which the whole development converges. If we do this systematically, we could make a major contribution to linguistic theory rather than borrow from it.

LINGUISTICS AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

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1. Introduction

Applied Linguistics is the discipline which concerns itself with the processes involved in foreign and second language learning. The term Applied Linguistics suggests that there is a special relationship between foreign and second language learning on the one hand, and linguistics on the other. Within the area of second language acquisition research, however, this relationship is interpreted differently by two types of researchers. On the one hand, there is the linguist who is searching for empirical evidence to show whether a theoretical linguistic model can be retained or needs to be adjusted. Above all the linguist's concern is to test for theoretical alternatives. On the other hand, there is the more psycholinguistically oriented researcher of second language learning who is interested in the reality of processes involved in language acquisition and language development. He may ask himself to what extent linguistic theories can make a contribution to a better insight into phenomena of acquisition and development.

2. Contrastive analysis

The first contacts between linguistics and second language acquisition date from the days of contrastive analysis (CA). The Projekt für Angewandte Kontrastive Sprachwissenschaft (PAKS) (Project on Applied Contrastive Linguistics) is one example. This project was started in Kiel 1968 and was later continued in Stuttgart (e.g. Nickel 1970a, 1970b; Rohdenburg 1974). The aim of this project was to make a systematic comparison between English and German and to work out the principles upon which contrastive linguistic analysis should be based. Further research was envisaged in order to find possibilities for practical application to the teaching of foreign languages at different educational levels, the field of error analysis, language testing and sequencing of foreign

language course materials (PAKS-Arbeitsbericht Nr.5,iii). It was when linguistics, in this case descriptive-contrastive linguistics, failed to provide a clear explanation for the occurrence of errors, that interest in contrastive analysis dwindled. It appeared that differences between languages did not always lead to errors and that errors could not always be attributed to the fact that there were differences between languages. Contrastive analysis could not offer a contribution to applied linguistic research into second language acquisition.

When contrastive analysis failed as an explanatory model, linguists lost interest in second language research and linguistic descriptive-contrastive studies were carried out less frequently. This development resulted in a change in the research paradigm. Research aimed at predicting errors made by second language learners on the basis of a theoretical linguistic comparison of two language systems had to make way for research with an empirical and psycholinguistic orientation towards the processes involved in language acquisition and language development.

3. *Interlanguage as a system*

The introduction of the term *interlanguage* primarily marks the moment when the utterances of the second language learner came to be regarded as reflecting an underlying coherent language system. The assumption is that interlanguage systems can be compared with natural language systems, acquired as mother tongues. The introduction of the term marks the moment when research into second language acquisition came to mean research into the language *behaviour* of second language learners and into the *processes* associated with their linguistic *development*. The utterances of the second language learners were seen against the background of an underlying language system without there being a direct relationship between this language system and actual second-language behaviour

There are two aspects of the interlanguage, when regarded as a language system, which clearly stand out. The first aspect is that markedness relations within the language system are relevant to the processes involved in language acquisition. The fact that a language system consists of different modules which interact during the language production process, constitutes the second aspect.

3.1. *Markedness theory*

Ever since the days of contrastive analysis second language researchers have been confronted with the problem that differences between languages do not always lead to difficulties. Zobl (1980a, b) has discovered, for example, that the position of pronouns causes problems for English learners of French but not for French learners of English. It appears that English learners produce incorrect French sentences in

which they place the pronouns after the verb, as they would in English. Examples of this are the sentences in (1):

(1) * Je vois elle
* Le chien a mangé les
* Il veut les encore
* Oui, j'aime le
* Il pense qu'elle a oublié moi aussi.

The reverse is not true, however, for French learners of English; they never make the mistake of placing pronouns before the verb as would be the case in French (c.f. Zobl 1980a, 52ff., 1980b, 13f.):

"Although I have been studying the acquisition of English by Francophones for a number of years, I have yet to find one instance of the transfer of the clitic pronoun placement rule. (..) the situation is very different for the direction English L1-French L2. (..) English children after five-and-a-half years of French immersion either avoided preverbal clitics or reproduced the postverbal position of object pronouns in English." (Zobl 1980b, 13f.)

It is the theory of markedness which could provide an explanation for these differences.

Markedness theory specifies a relation between marked and unmarked alternatives. The question is how to identify what is marked and what is unmarked. In general, it seems to be the case that whenever there are two options within a system and one of them has a special status where the other does not, it is the option with the special status which is the marked one. The following example will illustrate this point.

It is the use of the verb 'to serve' with an indirect object or a direct object which is of interest here. Given the context in which this verb is used (see picture two: "I'm sorry, we only serve gentlemen"), the most obvious unmarked interpretation is the one where 'gentlemen' is seen as the indirect object. The actual situation, however, is that the ladies regard 'gentlemen' as direct object (see picture three: "Good. We'll have two then"), which is the marked interpretation in this situation.

In French, clitic pronouns have marked status, while the English pronouns such as *me, him* and *them* are unmarked. This difference in markedness results from the fact that clitic pronouns are bound morphemes in French, while pronouns in English are free morphemes.

For every unmarked nominal variant English only has an unmarked pronominal variant .

Table 1: Nouns and pronouns in French and English

Nominal:	Pronominal:
Je vois *l'homme*	Je *le* vois
I see *the man*	I see *him*

Linguistic markedness relations have certain consequences for second-language behaviour. Firstly, it seems that in the second language, marked structures are more difficult to learn than unmarked ones. This explains why English learners make so many errors of the type shown in (1). Secondly, it seems that a construction which has marked status in the first language is not so readily transferred or, indeed, not transferred at all. That explains why French learners of English never make errors of the type * *I him see.*

Eckman (1977) has devised a term for the fact that problems exist in one direction and not in the other whenever there are differences between languages; he has called this phenomenon the "directionality of difficulty". He has accounted for this in terms of what he calls the Markedness Differential Hypothesis (MDH, Eckman 1977, 1985). This hypothesis holds that it is those parts of the target language which differ from the first language and have marked status that are most difficult to learn. Eckman refers to the distribution of voiceless and voiced obstruents in English and German as an example. In English there is a contrast between voiced and voiceless obstruents in initial, medial and final position, while in German this is only the case in initial and medial position.

Table 2: Voiceless and voiced obstruents in German and English

	English			German		
initial:	[p]/[b];	[t]/[d];	[k]/[g];	[p]/[b];	[t]/[d];	[k]/[g];
	*p*ear	*t*ear	*c*old	*P*aar	*t*anken	*k*lauben
	*b*ear	*d*ear	*g*old	*b*ar	*d*anken	*g*lauben
medial:	[p]/[b];	[t]/[d];	[k]/[g];	[p]/[b];	[t]/[d];	[k]/[g];
	flo*pp*y	bi*tt*er	bu*ck*le	fie*p*en	ra*t*en	pau*k*en
	sno*bb*y	bi*dd*er	bu*gg*er	lie*b*en	Rä*d*er	sau*g*en
final:	[p]/[b];	[t]/[d];	[k]/[g];	[p];	[t];	[k];
				(Auslautverhartung)		
	ri*p*	ki*t*	ba*ck*	fie*p*t	Ra*t*	pau*k*t
	ri*b*	ki*d*	ba*g*	lie*b*t	Ra*d*	sau*g*t

The difference between German and English can be described in terms of the "Terminal Devoicing" rule (German "Auslautverhartung"). If it were the case that English learners had to learn this rule for German, it would be more difficult for them to learn the correct German pronunciation than vice versa. This is not the case, however. On the contrary, for Germans it appears to be difficult to learn the English voiced/unvoiced contrast in final position. Eckman explains this by means of markedness relations. From the point of view of language typology there seems to be an implicational relationship between the different positions in which the voiced/voiceless contrast can occur. If a contrast occurs in medial position in a particular language, it also occurs in initial position but not necessarily in final position. Whenever the contrast occurs in end position, it definitely also occurs in medial and initial positions. And, finally, if it occurs in initial position, this does not necessarily imply a contrast in medial or final position. See the Voice Contrast Hierarchy according to Eckman (1977, 322).

From the point of view of language typology, then, it is the contrast in final position which is least common, most marked and more difficult to learn according to the MDH. This explains why German learners of English find it difficult to pronounce correctly words like *rib, kid* and *bag* besideswords like *rip, kit* and *back*, while English learners of German do not find it difficult to pronounce correctly words with Terminal Devoicing such as *liebt, Tag* and *Rad* in addition to *lieben, Räder* and *Tage*.

Table 3: Voice Contrast Hierarchy

Initially	Least marked
|	|
Medially	|
|	|
Finally	Most marked

From the point of view of language typology, then, it is the contrast in final position which is least common, most marked and more difficult to learn according to the MDH. This explains why German learners of English find it difficult to pronounce correctly words like *rib, kid* and *bag* besides words like *rip, kit* and *back*, while English learners of German do not find it difficult to pronounce correctly words with Terminal Devoicing such as *liebt, Tag* and *Rad* in addition to *lieben, Räder* and *Tage*.

Markedness relations also play a role in the acquisition of lexical meaning (cf. Jordens & Kellerman 1981, Kellerman 1978). Transfer of a word with a marked meaning is less likely to occur than transfer of a word with an unmarked meaning. Furthermore, it seems that when a word is polysemous in the first language, it is less likely to be used in the second language to express a particular meaning which is not the

prototypical one. This explains why Dutch learners will not always express all the senses of a word like *breken* ('to break') by using the English word *break*. The literal sense (*He broke his leg*) poses no problems, but as the sense of the word *breken* broadens (e.g. *z'n woord breken* 'to break one's word'; *een record breken* 'to break a record'), learners will have difficulty in accepting that the metaphorical senses of the Dutch *breken* can also be expressed in English by the word *break*:

Table 4: Semantic markedness (Jordens & Kellerman 1981; Kellerman 1978)

He broke his leg
She broke his heart
The waves broke on the rocks
He broke his word
She broke the world record
Which country has broken the ceasefire?

From the nature of the research referred to here we can conclude that the question is not whether we can find evidence to validate markedness theory or not. In applied linguistic research markedness theory is used to explain certain phenomena of language behaviour. Using this theory, one can answer the questions why some structures in the target language lead to learning problems and others do not, and why some structures are learned before others. Furthermore, it appears that this theory can also adequately specify the conditions under which transfer from the first language occurs.

3.2 The modular structure of the interlanguage system

Subparts of linguistic systems, i.e. the syntactic, phonological and semantic system of a language, do not function independently; this is not only true for native speakers but also for second language learners. The subparts or modules interact, and languages differ with respect to the way in which this interaction takes place. The principles which determine word order in languages may be used to illustrate this. In some languages there is a relationship between word order and syntactic function, while in other languages it is the relationship between word order and discourse function which is more important. A typological distinction can be made between languages which could be characterized as "subject-prominent" or "topic-prominent" (cf. Li & Thompson 1976). It seems that certain problems facing the learner have to do with the way in which modules interact within the linguistic system.

Research carried out by Schachter & Rutherford (1979) and Rutherford (1983) seems to indicate that Chinese, Japanese and Korean learners of English initially interpret English sentences in terms of the discourse-functional relationships in their mother tongue. As a result, word order is not determined by the relationship between the subject and the

predicate but by the topic-comment relationship. Sentences in (2) are typical for Chinese learners of English;

(2) *Most of food which is served in such restaurant have cooked already.
*Irrational emotions are bad but rational emotions must use for judging.
*Chiang's food must make in the kitchen of the restaurant but Marty's food could make in his house.
*If I have finished these four jobs, I am confident that my company can list in the biggest 100 companies in the world.
(Schachter & Rutherford 1979, 7ff.)

These sentences should not be seen as an attempt to produce passive sentences, as in (3), but as a result of an interaction between the discourse-functional topic-comment structure of the mother tongue and the syntactic structure of English, as in (4):

(3) Most of the food which is served in such restaurants has been cooked already.

(4) Most of the food which is served in such restaurants [they] have cooked [it] already.
(Schachter & Rutherford 1978, 8)

What is important for the second language acquisition process is that these learners discover that English sentence structure is based not so much on the topic-comment as on the subject-predicate relationship.

The problem which Chinese learners of English face is that they assume in the initial stages that the first language and the target language are identical with respect to the relevance of topic-comment relations for word order. Presumably because they have become sensitive to the fact that the topic-comment relationship plays a role in English as well, these learners transfer the topic-comment structure from the mother tongue into English. However, there is a difference in the way in which the topic-comment relationship interacts with the syntactic structure of the sentence in the mother tongue and the syntactic structure of the sentence in the target language.

Interaction between different modules in a language system is not only of importance when languages differ. All utterances in the mother tongue as well as the language being learned are the result of complex interactions between underlying conceptual structures, discourse functions and grammatical relationships. One example of this is the case system in German. Assigning case is not purely a question of syntax. Case marking is related to the discourse-functional role of the nominal constituent. This is why we are able to assign case when we have little idea (yet) of what the syntactic function of a nominal constituent is. This is true for sentences such as headlines in newspapers which do not have

a finite verb (5), or whenever during the language production process a finite verb has to be chosen at a much later stage in the sentence (6):

(5a) past-participle phrases:

Der Schütze getötet
the shooter (NOM) killed
'The shooter killed'

Neu*er* Bischof für Berlin ernannt
new bishop (NOM) for Berlin appointed
'New bishop for Berlin appointed'

Den Vater verteidigt, die Mutter vergöttert
the father (ACC) defended, the mother worshipped
'His father defended, his mother worshipped'

Den Traum vom Aufstieg ausgeträumt
the dream (ACC) of promotion dreamed to an end
'The dream of promotion dreamed to an end'

(5b) verbless NPs:

Der Hamburger SV fest im Griff von Hadjuk Split
the Hamburg SV (NOM) firmly in-the grip of Hajduk Split
'The Hamburg SV firmly in-the grip of Hajduk Split'

Den Hamburger SV fest im Griff
the Hamburg SV (ACC) firmly in-the grip
'The Hamburg SV firmly in the grip'

Den Sieg in der Tasche
the victory (ACC) in the pocket
'The victory in the pocket'

Den Finger am Abzug
the finger (ACC) on-the trigger
'the finger on the trigger'

(6) Noch später sehen wir, wie in Amerika reiche Industrielle, Ölmagnaten und Bankiers *einen* Teil der kapitalen Summen, die sie ansammeln konnten, als die Weise der Versteuerung sie daran noch nicht hinderte, Fonds *anvertrauten*, deren Ziel.....
'Much later we see how in America rich magnates, oil tycoons and bankers (SUBJ) part of the capital sums (OBJ) that they could gather when the means of tax declaration did not prevent them, entrusted (FINITE VERB) to funds of which goals ...'

In these cases the syntactic function of the nominal constituent is still undetermined at the time when a particular case has to be chosen. Case marking can only take place by taking the underlying conceptual structure into account (cf. Jordens 1983, 150ff., 199ff.).

Whenever the grammatical form deviates from the underlying conceptual relationships problems arise for learners of German, precisely because there is no 1:1 relationship between underlying conceptual relationships, discourse functions and grammatical form. It would seem that in (7) and (8), for example, a nominative or accusative was used incorrectly because the speaker assigned case based on the underlying conceptual relationships:

(7) * *Die* Grünen *(NOM) werden vorgeworfen ,daß ....
= Den Grünen (IO:DAT) wird vorgeworfen, daß ....
The Greens are blamed, that .....
'The Greens are blamed, that ....'

* *Der* Linksaußen (*NOM) gelang ein herrliches Tor
= Dem Linksaußen (IO: DAT) gelang ein herrliches Tor
The left winger succeeded a magnificent goal
'The left-winger succeeded in scoring a magnificent goal'

(8) * Es wurde *einen* Fall (*ACC) erwähnt
= Es wurde ein Fall (NOM) erwähnt
There was a case mentioned
'A case was mentioned'

* Für die zweite Variante läßt sich *einen* ähnlich*en* Vergleich (*ACC) aufstellen
= Für die zweite Variante läßt sich *ein* ähnlich*er* Vergleich (NOM) aufstellen
For the second variant lets itself a similar comparison made
'A similar comparison can be made for the second variant'

* Dadurch entsteht *einen* Knall (*ACC)
= Dadurch entsteht *ein* Knall (NOM)
Thereby is-caused a bang
'This caused a bang'

* *Den* Sieg (*ACC) ist mir entgangen
= *Der* Sieg (NOM) ist mir entgangen
The victory is me escaped
'The victory escaped me'

* *Den* Film (*ACC) hat mir gefallen
= *Der* Film (NOM) hat mir gefallen
The movie has me pleased
'The movie was nice'/'I liked the movie'

* *Seinen* Wagen (*ACC) ist kaputt
= *Sein* Wagen (NOM) ist kaputt
His car is broken down
'His car broke down'

These errors are not only typical of Dutch speakers of German as a foreign language. Germans make these errors in their *own* language as well (cf. Jordens 1986).

In Dutch we observe the same phenomenon. In cases where a nominal constituent would at first glance be assigned the function of subject (based on the underlying conceptual relationships) but gets for grammatical reasons the dative case, the incorrect nominative case is often used:

(9) * Ik heb het sterke vermoeden dat *de journalisten* (IO: plural) *zijn* (fV: *plural) ingefluisterd dat ...
= ... dat *de journalisten* (IO: plural) *is* (fV: singular) ingefluisterd dat ...
I have the strong suspicion that the journalists **have/has* been whispered to that ...
'I have the strong suspicion that the journalists were secretly informed that ...'

* *Deze mensen* (IO: plural) *worden* (fV: *plural) een stuk objectiviteit (SUBJ: singular) aangemeten
= *Deze mensen* (IO: plural) *wordt* (fV: singular) een stuk objectiviteit (SUBJ: singular) aangemeten
These people **have/has* been a degree of objectivity ascribed to
'A degree of objectivity has been ascribed to these people'

When a constituent has the function of subject for purely grammatical reasons, it is often hard to identify it as the subject of a sentence. Consequently, there is no agreement between the finite verb and the grammatical subject. Examples are given in (10):

(10) * Er *wordt* (fV: *singular) al enige tijd *proeven* (SUBJ: plural) genomen om de eenvoudige aanslagen administratief af te doen
= Er *worden* (fV: plural) al enige tijd *proeven* (SUBJ: plural) genomen om de eenvoudige aanslagen administratief af te doen
There is already for-some time experiments done in-order the simple assessments administratively to settle
'For some time experiments have been carried out in order to settle the simple assessments administratively'

* In Southampton *speelde* (fV: *singular) zich *soortgelijke taferelen* (SUBJ: plural) af als vorig jaar in Rotterdam

= In Southampton *speelden* (fV: plural) zich *soortgelijke taferelen* (SUBJ: plural) af als vorig jaar in Rotterdam
In Southampton took-place similar events as last year in Rotterdam
'Events took place in Southampton which were similar to those which occurred in Rotterdam last year'

3.3 Conclusion

In conclusion we may state that while second language research may have started as a means to provide evidence in support of hypotheses set up by linguists, it has developed into a discipline in which linguistic theories are used only to explain *certain* phenomena within a complex system that determines the language behaviour and the language development of second language learners.

4 UG and second language acquisition

With regard to the relationship between linguistics and research into second language acquisition, we are at present in a situation which is similar to the one at the time when contrastive analysis was still popular. As a result of research into first language acquisition linguists have become interested in the processes involved in second language acquisition. This is the case with research carried out within the framework provided by Chomsky's Universal Grammar. If we assume that children have at their disposal an innate capacity for language when learning their mother tongue, then a relevant question would be whether adults still have this same capacity when learning a second language. If it could be shown that learners, when constructing inter-language hypotheses, are led by 'constraints' considered by linguists to be universal, then this would provide evidence for this capacity being operative.

4.1 Innate constraints

The fact that many conceivable rules do not occur in languages is used as an argument to demonstrate that children have some kind of innate knowledge about grammar.

Well-known in this respect is Chomsky's example to illustrate the innateness of the principle of structure dependence. If first language learning were based on *inductive principles*, one should expect that children who are confronted with sentences such as (11a, b) and (12a, b) would also construct sentence pairs such as (13a, b):

(11a) The man is tall
(11b) Is the man tall?

(12a) The book is on the table
(12b) Is the book on the table?
(13a) The man who is tall is in the room
(13b) *Is the man who tall is in the room?

Their assumption should be that to form an interrogative the first is should be moved forward. The fact is, however, that children never make errors of this kind. They always produce correct sentence pairs as in (14a, b):

(14a) The man who is tall is in the room
(14b) Is the man who is tall in the room?

Sentences which are in conflict with the structure dependence of grammatical relationships do not occur, not even if someone were to hear sentences of type (11) and (12) all his life. This is reason enough for Chomsky (1975) and White (1981, 242ff.) to assume that structure dependence is an innate principle which ensures beforehand that children do not test all possible hypotheses:

> "The only reasonable conclusion is that UG contains the principle that all such rules must be structure-dependent. That is, the child's mind (...) contains the instruction: construct a structure-dependent rule, ignoring all structure-independent rules. The principle of structure dependence is not learned, but forms part of the conditions for language learning." (Chomsky 1975, 32ff.)

Basing themselves on the principle of structure dependence, children know that to form the interrogative, the finite verb in the *matrix sentence* must be moved to the front.

It is not difficult to think of more examples like this. One could ask, for example, why it is that children know when to leave out verbs and when not to leave them out. See (15) and (16):

(15) J. denkt dat dit de voorkant *is* en dit de achterkant 0.
J. thinks that this the front is and this the back 0
'J. thinks that this is the front and this 0 the back'

(16) (De pop heeft een paar nieuwe schoentjes gekregen) Als ze deze niet aan *mag mag* ze die aan.
(the doll has a new pair of shoes) if she these not on can can she those on
'If she cannot have these on, she can have those on'
(Jasmijn 11-9-89).

Here too structure dependence is at stake.

Klein (1989) has recently shown that we need not resort to innate knowledge of the structure of language in these cases. According to him

it is essential that language acquisition processes should change through time and that it is in this way that linguistic knowledge is extended. New knowledge is added to existing knowledge. Initially, children learn simple sentences, as in (11) and (12). As a consequence they are able to deduce how to form interrogative sentences. At a later stage they will extend this knowledge based on what they already know. A child will learn, for example, that NPs can be made more complex; that is to say, they can be substituted by more elaborate constituents without changing the structure of the original sentence. The finite verb which is part of a constituent embedded in the original sentence has a different status, therefore, than the finite verb in the matrix sentence. Klein notes that it is essential for the acquisition of these structure-dependent principles that the acquisition process should progress accumulatively. I do not agree with this. For it would imply that learners of a second language, under certain circumstances, could overlook these principles in the second language. It is essential for the acquisition of structure dependence that children should discover that certain parts of the sentence (constituents) can be replaced by others. This possibility of replacing constituents ensures that the principle of structure dependence can be learned inductively.

So, what about second language acquisition? The learner's interlanguage system is an interesting area of research because we cannot simply start off by assuming that the principles on which interlanguages and natural languages are based are the same. Interesting interlanguage structures are those which do not occur in the mother tongue or the target language. The question is whether learners make use of interlanguage rules which do not occur in natural languages. It is very difficult to find structures which are not based on either the first or second language. Nevertheless Clahsen is of the opinion that interlanguage systems are not natural language systems:

> "Adults develop systems when learning a second language which cannot be described as possible grammars in terms of UG principles. (..) the learning mechanisms which specialize in grammar acquisition are no longer available to adults learning a second language." (Clahsen 1988, 143).

One example which I would like to look at in more detail is the way in which, according to Clahsen, the syntax of negation is acquired by learners of German. Data from the longitudinal ZISA study (Clahsen 1984) seem to indicate that speakers of Romance languages go through three stages. In the first stage the interlanguage system is characterized by VO word order and the negative particle (*nein* or *nicht)* is placed before the verb:

Stage 1: *nich* sprechen Italien
not speak (Inf.) Italian
'He doesn't speak Italian'

ich *nee* sagen wieviel kilometer
I no say how many kilometres
'I don't know how many kilometres it is'

ich *nein* kauf
I no buy (Inf.)
'I haven't sold any cars'

In the second stage the negative particle is placed directly after the finite verb. Furthermore the non-finite verb is placed at the end of the sentence. So it would seem that second language learners have discovered that German has an underlying OV word order:

Stage 2: Ich will *nich* mit sie gewohnt
I want (1st sing.) not with they live (past part.)
'I don't want to live with them'

aber Stefan will *nich* diese lokal
but St. want not this pub
'But St. doesn't want this pub'

aber er hat *nich* diese papier
but he has not the paper
'But he hasn't got the papers'

wenn ich glaube, ich kann *nich* eine sache machen
if I believe I cannot one thing do (Inf.)
'If I believe that I can't do a thing'

In the third stage the finite verb and the negative particle may be separated by other constituents:

Stage 3: ich wollte mich *nich* bloßstellen
I wanted me not expose
'I didn't want to expose myself'

das hättest du mir *nich* sagen gebraucht
that have (2nd sing. subjunctive) you me not tell (Inf.) need (P.Part.)
'You needn't have told me'

According to Clahsen, it would seem that the acquisition of the position of NEG has something to do with the relationship between NEG and VP. The negative particle is placed before the VP in all stages (see Table 5); at stage 1 there is VO word order, at stage 2 there is OV word order and INFL is moved into second position in the sentence; at stage 3 it seems as

if the NPobj has been moved from the VP by what is referred to as 'scrambling':

Table 5: The relationship between NEG and VP in Romance learners of German

NEG VP[V...]
INFL NEG VP[..V] no scrambling
INFL NEG VP[..V] with scrambling

Clahsen says that if this development were to have taken place, then interlanguages at different stages would be in accordance with the principles of natural languages. Now Clahsen claims that the analysis in Table 5 is wrong for two reasons. First of all, he maintains that it is during stage 2 that SVO is still the predominant word order and that it is the use of OV word order which would trigger *scrambling*. Secondly, although it is the case that there is no scrambling in negated sentences (as in 17), there is scrambling in sentences with PPs at stage 2. At stage 3 this situation is different; scrambling does occur in negated sentences but not in sentences with PPs (see example 18).

(17) Stage 2:

ich kann *nich eine sache* machen (*no* 'scrambling')
I cannot one thing do (Inf.)
'I can't do a thing'

(18) Stage 3:

ich wollt *mich nich* bloßstellen (*with* 'scrambling')
I wanted me not expose
'I didn't want to expose myself'

ich soll *aus Italien eine apparat* bringen (*no* 'scrambling')
I am supposed from Italy a device bring (Inf.)
'I am supposed to bring a device from Italy'

Clahsen concludes that "within scrambling theory [there is] no possible grammatical analysis for the second language data" (143). The acquisition process can only be explained by means of "general learning strategies". For second language learners this amounts to the use of movement operations. Stage 2 precedes stage 3 because movement from an internal to an external position is easier than the other way around. At stage 2 this affects the position of the non-finite verb at the end of the sentence, at stage 3 this involves the position of the negation in the VP.

Unlike Clahsen, I think that it would be feasible to analyse interlanguage behaviour in terms of a natural interlanguage system. Clahsen

himself more or less suggests this when he notes that it is at stage 2 that SVO structure is still predominantly used. One might assume that before VO is re-structured and becomes OV there is a VO stage (stage 2 here) at which the non-finite part of the predicate (Vnf) is placed in final position. This is similar to the situation in English. English has underlying VO structure and places verb particles at the end of a sentence as in (19):

(19) He phoned the girl up

Given the assumption of underlying VO structure and particle movement, structures as in Table 6 are possible whenever NEG is placed after V.

Table 6: NEG at stage 2

V (NEG) O	
V (NEG) O Vnf	('particle movement')
V (NEG) O PP Vnf	('particle movement')

At stage 3 the underlying structure is reconstructed to an OV structure and NEG is placed before V. As a result, the structures in Table 7 are possible:

Table 7: NEG at stage 3

	O (NEG) V	
Vf	O (NEG) [e]	('verb-fronting')
PP	O (NEG) V	

One advantage of this analysis is that it is simple and psychologically more realistic. All structural differences between stage 2 and 3 can be accounted for and scrambling theory becomes redundant if one simply accepts that OV instead of VO has become the underlying word order and that NEG is not put directly after but before V. Both VO and OV order and NEG + V or V + NEG are in concordance with the possibilities within natural languages and are deducible on the basis of second-language input and by making use of existing knowledge about the first language. Hence, we do not have to assume the existence of particular learning strategies which are exclusively limited to second language acquisition.

Incorrect case marking by Dutch learners of German offers a nice and far less complicated example of a type of interlanguage utterance which is in conflict with the structure of natural languages. A typical error against the principle of structure dependence is evidenced in sentences such as (20):

(20) * Der Junge sagt, daß er und *seinen* Freund Käsebrot wollen

the boy says that he and his *(ACC) friend cheeseroll want
'The boy says that he and his friend want a cheeseroll'

* Der Vater weiß nicht, wann und wie *seinen* Sohn nach Frankfurt fahren soll
the father knows not, when and how his *(ACC) son to Frankfurt drive will
'The father doesn't know, when and how his son will drive to Frankfurt'

* Meine Erklärung, daß jedes Tier und *jeden* Mensch tot geht, konnte er nicht verstehen
my explanation, that every animal and every *(ACC) human being die will, could he not understand
'He couldn't understand my explanation, that every animal and every human being will die'

It is the interaction between underlying conceptual relationships and case marking in sentence structures which results in the incorrect assignment of case in these examples. In each of the examples there is a transitive relationship between a person in the matrix clause and a person or object in the subordinate clause. Based on the nature of this underlying relationship the NPs are marked morphologically by using a nominative and an accusative respectively. The fact that case marking is inextricably linked to relationships *within sentences* has apparently not been taken into account by the second language learners. The errors, however, are not in conflict with the structure of language. They are the result of an interaction between the conceptual and the grammatical system and acknowledge the modular character of the interlanguage.

A generally acceptable conclusion seems to be that a second language learner does nothing which does not conform to the rules which govern natural languages. Does this mean then that the second language learner has something like an innate capacity for learning a second language? As Klein (1989) has shown with regard to the acquisition of the principle of structure dependence, the fact that some conceivable rules do not show up does not prove that the second language learner has an innate capacity for learning a language. Principles of induction can account for the fact that some conceivable rules do not occur.

The fact that second language learners know things about language which they cannot have deduced from their native language or from the second-language input is another way of showing that interlanguage speakers have an innate capacity for learning a language. These considerations prompted experiments in which second language learners were asked to judge the grammaticality of sentences. Researchers had to ensure that possible effects could not be traced to knowledge of the first language. Hence pairs of correct and incorrect sentences were needed in which the distinction between grammatical and ungrammatical was based on a universal principle while the equivalents in the native

language should either be both grammatical or both ungrammatical. Researchers ensured that the second language learners had not previously been confronted with the chosen phenomena in their learning situation.

An example of such a case are constructions in which the so-called '*that-trace* effect' plays a role. The phenomenon which we are concerned with here is illustrated in *(21) and (22). In English *that* cannot be followed by a trace (= *e*). The Dutch variants of the grammatical and ungrammatical English sentences are both correct.

(21) * Who do you think that *e* saw Mary?
(22) What do you suppose that Mary will do *e* ?

In examples *(21) and (22) the empty slot from which *who* and *what* are extracted is indicated by means of *e*. In (21) '*e*' is in subject position while it is in object position in (22). These examples illustrate that in English, in these constructions extraction is only possible from the object position. In Dutch extraction is possible from the subject as well as the object position. See (23) and (24):

(23) Wie zei Mary dat *e* het glas gebroken heeft?
who said Mary that the glass broken has?
'Who said Mary broke the glass?'

(24) Wat denk je dat Mary zal doen *e* ?
what think you that Mary will do?
'What do you think Mary will do?

White (1989) claims that the difference between *(21) and (22) is founded on principles of UG and that Dutch is an exception to the rule in this respect. An experiment that White carried out on Dutch students learning English showed that sentences with object extraction (22) are often judged as more correct than sentences with subject extraction *(21). Subjects cannot have deduced this knowledge from their first language (cf. 23 and 24) and as it is highly unlikely that they somehow learned that constructions such as *(21) are ungrammatical in English, White assumes that it is the innate principles of Universal Grammar on which the intuitions of the subjects with respect to the difference in grammaticality are founded.

The conclusion that White draws from her experiment is somewhat premature, however. I would claim that the difference in grammaticality of sentences like *(21) and (22) is determined by the first language after all, despite the fact that the equivalent construction in the first language is incorrect in both cases. This can be demonstrated by means of sentence (25):

(25) Wie geloof je dat Karel roept?
who believe you that Charles calls?
'Who do you believe that Charles calls?'

This sentence is ambiguous in the sense that Karel can be assigned the function of subject or object; see (25a) and (25b):

(25a) Wie geloof je dat Karel roept *e*?
'Who do you believe that Charles calls?'

(25b) Wie geloof je dat *e* Karel roept?
'Who do you believe calls Charles?'

Although (25) is ambiguous it seems as though the interpretation in which *Karel* is subject and *wie* is the extracted object (as in 25a) is the most acceptable.

In order to determine whether Dutch speakers prefer object extraction in sentences of this type I carried out an experiment with 36 Dutch subjects. They were all second-year students of English. Subjects were asked to judge sentences of the type in table 8. There were 10 sentences of each type in the experiment. Subjects had to choose between *hij* (subject) or *hem* (object):

Table 8: Grammaticality judgements: % subject = hij. Subject as well as object extraction can occur in sentences 1 to 4. 5 and 6 are fillers.

1. Wie hoop je dat *hij/hem* benoemt? who hope you that he/him appoints 'Who do you hope that he appoints' 'Who do you hope appoints him?'	87.5%
2. Wie zeg je dat *hem/hij* zal bezoeken? who say you that him/he will see 'Who do you say will see him?' 'Who do you say that he will see?'	81.5%
3. Wie denk je dat *hij/hem* gezien heeft? who think you that he/him seen has 'Who do you think that he saw?' 'Who do you think saw him?'	66.4%
4. Wie verwacht je dat *hem/hij* een geschenk geeft? who expect you that him/he a present gives 'Who do you expect is giving him a present?' 'Who do you expect that he is giving a present to?'	66.4%
5. Wie is bezig **hij/hem* te fotograferen? who is busy he/him to photograph *'Who is busy taking a picture of he?' 'Who is busy taking a picture of him?'	0,0%
6. Wat veronderstel je dat **hem/hij* leest? what assume you that him/he reads *'What do you assume reads him?' 'What do you assume that he reads?'	99,2%

As is evident from the results in Table 8, subjects clearly prefer using the subject form *hij* in sentence types 1 to 4. This means that subjects

initially regard these sentences as cases of object extraction. Apparently, sentences with subject extraction are less likely to be regarded as grammatically correct in the mother tongue. If we assume that subjects make use of intuitions from their native language when judging the equivalents of these sentences in English, it may be expected that the equivalent of (23) is less likely to be accepted in English than (24). Hence, Dutch learners will reject a sentence like *(21) more often, for the simple reason that the Dutch equivalent for *(21) is regarded as less acceptable than the equivalent of (22).

The apparent difference in acceptability between sentences with subject extraction and object extraction is probably due to the way in which these sentences are processed. Sentences with object extraction seem to be processed more easily than sentences with subject extraction and the *relative* ease with which a grammaticality judgement is arrived at in the native language can be reflected in the degree to which equivalent structures in the second language are accepted as grammatical.

In an experiment by Felix (1989), constructions for which both native-language equivalents were grammatical were tested, as well as constructions for which both the native equivalents were *un*grammatical. In a case like this one might think that second language learners who are able to distinguish between correct and incorrect in the second language cannot possibly have arrived at these judgements by basing themselves on their first language. Yet this is not true either; compare e.g. (26a) and (27a) with (26b) and (27b):

(26a) John was easy for Smith to persuade to come to the party
(27a) * John was easy for Smith to expect to come to the party

(27a) Who did the man see pictures of?
(27b) * Who did the man see John's pictures of?

The literal translation of both sentence pairs is incorrect not only in German but also in Dutch. Still, one variant seems to be worse than the other. Why? My impression is that the a-sentences call up associations with the *correct* constructions (cf. 28a and 29a), while a similar type of construction for the b-sentences is incorrect (cf. 28b and 29b):

(28a) Hans war leicht zu überzeugen (German)
Hans was makkelijk te overtuigen (Dutch)
Hans was easy to persuade
'John was easy to persuade'

(28b)* Hans war leicht zu erwarten (German)
*Hans was makkelijk te verwachten (Dutch)
Hans was easy to expect
'John was easy to expect'

(29a) Wessen Bilder hast du gesehen? (German)
Van wie heb je foto's gezien? (Dutch)
whose pictures have you seen?
'Whose pictures did you see?'

(29b) *Von wem hast du Hans' Bilder gesehen? (German)
* Van wie heb je Hans' foto's gezien? (Dutch)
from who have you John's pictures seen
'Who did you see John's pictures of?'

Here too, knowledge of the native language plays a role because second language learners who are asked to give a grammaticality judgement will use all the grammatical knowledge at their disposal. It seems naive to think that they would limit themselves to a literal first-language equivalent in this respect.

But suppose that second language learners are able to reject constructions without their native language providing any clue whatsoever in this respect? Would this then constitute evidence in support of the innateness of certain *constraints*? I do not think so. There appears to be a strategy (more advanced second language learners definitely use it) which says that things you have never come across before are incorrect. This is the well-known *Operating Principle*: "unknown, unloved".

Why have researchers like White and Felix become interested in these questions? What they wanted to know was whether second language learners were in some way limited when constructing second language hypotheses. This question initially arose as a result of linguistic interests: researchers looked for evidence of UG principles. It is my impression that linguists who are searching for empirical evidence in order to find out whether a theoretical linguistic model is tenable or whether it should be modified will eventually lose interest. There is no reason whatsoever to suppose that the language system of the second language learner deviates, in some interesting or strange way, from other natural languages. There will be a continued interest, however, in the processes of second-language behaviour which canprovide insights into language acquisition and language development. Linguists can make a contribution in this respect by doing research into the linguistic coherence of certain properties of a language rather than by trying to find out whether second language learners have an innate capacity for learning a language. This is precisely why research into parameters can help us gain insight into the development of interlanguage systems.

4.2 Parameters

If it is true that certain properties of a language are related, then the question arises whether these relationships play a role in the second language acquisition process. These relationships could offer an

explanation for the fact that certain phenomena are acquired simultaneously and some are acquired before others.

Linguists have introduced the idea of parameters and *parameter setting* to account for such relationships. Parameters are part of the innate language-learning capacity and constitute sets of options in UG (White 1981, 1982, 1985a, 1985b). This is referred to as parametric variation. The setting of a parameter is linked to a cluster of properties in a given language.

Two of the most widely researched parameters are the *Pro-drop* and the *Head*-parameter.

In *pro-drop* languages, such as Spanish and Italian, it is commonly assumed that we are concerned with a cluster of three properties:

Absence of pronominal subjects:

(30a) [*pro*] salieron a las ocho
(30b) * left at eight

(31a) [*pro*] llovió mucho ayer
(31b) * rained a lot yesterday

Free inversion of subjects:

(32a) [*pro*] han llegado mis estudiantes
(32b) * have arrived my students?

Possible *that-trace* constructions:

(33a) Quién$_i$ has dicho [*pro*] que t_i va a venir? (where t_i indicates the position of the trace)
(33b) * Who did you say that is going to come?

White (1985b), Hilles (1986) and Phinney (1987) all carried out research into the acquisition of English (not a *pro-drop* language) by learners whose native language was Spanish (which is a *pro-drop* language). The idea was that the more or less simultaneous acquisition of the various aspects of a given parameter would constitute evidence for the psychological reality of parameter setting. Furthermore, the parameter notion also entails that the acquisition of one of the aspects would trigger the acquisition of the other aspects.

White's research is based on grammaticality judgement experiments with Spanish-speaking learners of English as a second language. The research showed that these subjects reacted differently to the English equivalents of the above constructions. Sentences with subject inversion *(32b) wereinvariably rejected, sentences with *that-trace* constructions *(33b) were usually accepted and sentences with no pronominal subject

*(30b), *(31b) were rejected more and more as the second language level increased.
One could draw either one of the following conclusions from these results:

a. Some of the phenomena investigated do not belong to the parameter (White 1985b)
b. Second language learners need independent evidence for each aspect of the parameter (Liceras 1989, 75)

It is clear that neither of these conclusions provides strong backing for the relevance of parameter notion for second language acquisition. We have to conclude, therefore, with respect to the *pro-drop* parameter, that the parameter notion raises more questions than it answers. One of the first questions is whether certain parameters are well-founded. Would it not be possible to provide an alternative explanation for the same phenomenon, based on the *language learning strategies* people have at their disposal? And secondly, is the status of the concept of parameters perhaps comparable to the status of the notion of transformation? If, in the first instance, a parameter is a theoretical construct, it is not to be expected that direct predictions about processes of language acquisition and language behaviour can be derived from it. In this respect, we only have to think of the experiments, carried out not so long ago, which were aimed at testing the psychological reality of transformations.

As in the days of contrastive analysis, there are two approaches. On the one hand, there are researchers who strive to find evidence for the reality and application of a particular linguistic theory (in this case the notion of parameters) and on the other hand there are those who are of the opinion that it may be necessary to appeal to linguistic notions to provide explanations for the processes of second language acquisition and behaviour. Applied linguists will opt for the latter approach.

If research into second-language behaviour shows that certain phenomena are acquired simultaneously and some are acquired before others, then it is important to find out if the learner's current language system can provide an explanation for this. This is not only important in order to properly understand what is happening but also to realize that there are certain internal regularities in the acquisition of a second-language system which ensure that the acquisition process cannot develop in any other way, more particularly that the acquisition of certain properties of a language is a necessary condition for the acquisition of other properties.

Research carried out by Clahsen et al. (1983) and Clahsen (1985) investigated the German spoken by immigrants with a Romance language as their first language. Three stages can be clearly distinguished in the acquisition process of these second language learners. Initially the verb forms appear in second position as in (34). These sentences have a clear SVO structure as they do in the mother tongue:

(34) ich *habe verstehen* auch nix
I have understood also nothing
'I haven't understood anything either'

ich *sagen* bei mir nis gut (I)
I say (inf.) with me not is good
'I said that it is not fine with me'

Subsequently there are two striking developments. First of all, simultaneously with the acquisition of agreement between the subject and the finite verb, the correct position of the non-finite verb at the end of the sentence is learned. This can be seen in examples like (35). The underlying structure of these sentences is SOV:

(35) ich *habe* funf klass*gemacht* (Carlo I.)
I have five classes made
'I have completed five classes'

will nach hause *gehen* (Carlo I.)
want to house go
'I want to go home'

Then one learns that the finite verb can only be preceded by one constituent, in other words that the finite verb is always in second position. This is referred to as the *Verb-second* phenomenon, and explains inversion, i.e. the fact that the subject is placed after the finite verb whenever there is an adverbial in sentence initial position. For speakers of the Romance languages there seems to be a link between the acquisition of *Verb-second* and the correct position of finite verbs in subordinate clauses: *V-end*. Cf. the positioning of the finite verb in subordinate clauses in Carlo I. (36) without *Verb-second* and Pietro I. and Benito I. (37) with *Verb-second*:

(36) und dann dreizehn jahr *ich hab* arbeit gegang (Carlo I.)
and then thirteen years I have work gone
'And then I went to work for thirteen years'

und dann *ich hab* schluß gemakt (Carlo I.)
and then I have end put
'And then I have put an end to it'

wenn *ich habe* gefund *ich gehe* nicht mit (Carlo I.)
when I have found I go not with
'When I found it I didn't come with them'

(37) hier *komm ich* abend nur drei zwei stunde (Pietro I.)
here come I evening only three two hours
'Here I come in the evening for only three or two hours'

wenn sie ein bißchen größer *sind* (Pietro I.)
when they a little bigger are
'When they will be a little bigger'

jetzt *verstehe ich* da und gebe dene antwort (Benito I.)
now understand I that and give them answer
'Now that I understand it, I will answer them'

da wird dann untersuchen ob eine gesund *ist* (Benito I.)
there will be then examined if one healthy is
'Then she will be examined'

This view on the link between the acquisition of *Verb-second* and the correct positioning of the finite verb in subordinate clauses differs from that in Clahsen et al. (1983). Here it is assumed that *V-end* is acquired after inversion. When the data are scrutinized more closely, however, it appears that certain subjects obtain a very low score on subordinate clauses because they produce a considerable number of subordinate clauses introduced by *weil*. In some German dialects, however, subordinate clauses with *weil* have the same weird order as main clauses. It would, therefore, be rather premature to conclude from these sentences that the subjects have not yet acquired correct word order in subordinate clauses. Evidence to support my opinion that *V-end* and inversion are acquired more or less simultaneously is presented by Ellis (1989, 320f.).

So initially, that is to say, at the same stage at which utterances like (35) occur, sentences like (36) are also still produced. Here there is no evidence for *Verb-second* yet and the subordinates have the same word order as main clauses. Later on in the acquisition process (as in 37) we see that clauses are produced with *Verb-second* and with *V-end* in subordinate clauses.

How can these developmental stages and, more particularly, the relationship between the phenomena discussed be explained? The examples in (34) show that speakers of Romance languages initially use constructions which reflect the structure of their mother tongue.

The second stage is determined by the simultaneous acquisition of agreement rules and the position of the finite and non-finite verb in the main clause. My explanation for the relationship between both phenomena is as follows: to learn the difference between the position of the finite and the non-finite verb, these verb categories must be distinguished from each other. The differences are determined morphologically. When a second language learner knows the agreement rules, he is able to make this distinction and he possesses the knowledge necessary to learn the difference in position as well. This results in a restructuring of the interlanguage system. The non-finite verb is no longer in second position (as in 34) but in end position (as in 35).

In the third stage (as in 37) inversion and the position of the finite verb in the subordinate clause are acquired more or less simultaneously.

The relationship between the position of the finite verb in the main and the subordinate clause is important in this respect. See Fig. 1.

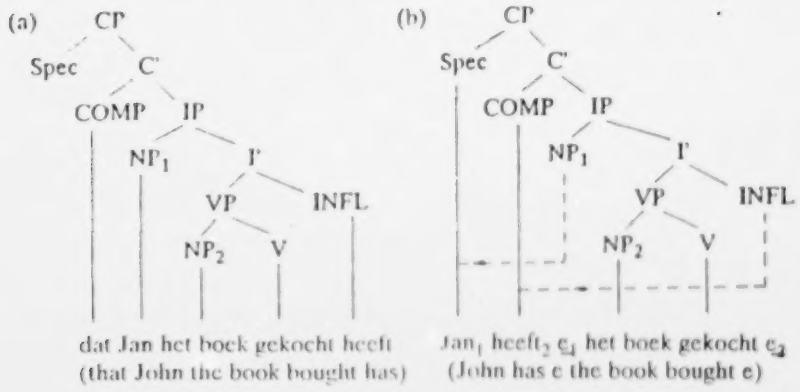

Figure 1: Word order in subordinate and main clauses.

We assume for German and Dutch that the finite verb in main clauses moves into the position which is usual for the complementizer (here the word *dat*) in subordinate clauses. In Fig. 1 this position is marked by COMP. If there is no complementizer, the finite verb can be moved into this position (cf.Fig 1b.); when there is a complementizer, the finite verb is placed at the end of the sentence (cf. Fig 1a). This explains the complementary relationship between main and subordinate clause order. In main clauses the position before the finite verb is taken up by the subject, the direct or indirect object or an adverbial. That is why the finite verb is always in second position in main clauses.

The relationship between the acquisition of inversion and the position of the finite verb in subordinate clauses can now be accounted for. As long as second language learners are still only able to produce simple sentences, they cannot know that the position of the finite verb in main clauses is the position for the complementizer in subordinate clauses. The moment the rules for subordinate clauses are acquired and, consequently, the relevance of COMP for the positioning of the finite verb, second language learners know that the finite verb is placed in second position only when there is *no* complementizer. As a result of the acquisition of the complementary relationship between the position of the complementizer in subordinate clauses and the finite verb in main clauses, the current interlanguage system is re-structured. The finite verb is now in COMP-position in main clauses. The relevance of

COMP for the position of the finite verb accounts for the fact that inversion in main clauses and the position of the finite verb in subordinate clauses are acquired more or less simultaneously.

This explanation for the relationship between rules which are relevant to the acquisition of word order implicitly answers the question why underlying OV or VO order is acquired before *Verb-second*. The answer is rather sobering. The underlying VO or OV word order can be learned on the basis of main clauses, while for the acquisition of *Verb-second* it is essential that learners should realize that there is a difference between main clauses and subordinate clauses. Since subordinate clauses are part of complex sentences, they are more difficult to produce than simple main clause structures (cf. Jordens 1988).

This example shows not only that processes of second language acquisition can be distinguished and divided into various stages, but also that these stages are characterized by linguistic coherence. This coherence has to do with the fact that some rules have to be mastered before other rules can be acquired. The order of the stages has to do with the structure of the first language and the processing of second-language input. In the initial stages the input is interpreted in terms of the native language and second language learners start to process simple main clauses before they process more complex structures.

4.3 Conclusion

Second language data appear to be of little use to linguistic research aimed at finding out whether or not second language learners have access to innate language knowledge. Second language acquisition research, on the other hand, can gain a lot from the data provided by linguistic research, because linguistic relationships have turned out to play an important role in second language acquisition. They can account for phenomena such as coherence and order of acquisition in second language learning. This is not only important in order to gain insight into processes of language behaviour and language development, but also with respect to the methodology of second language teaching.

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ETHNIC MINORITIES, LANGUAGE DIVERSITY, AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS. A case study on the Netherlands.

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1. Introduction

A common characteristic of ethnic minority groups around the world is that they make use of languages that are different from and dominated by majority group languages. It is also a wide-spread phenomenon that ethnic minority languages are major devices for the expression of ethnicity and self-esteem, whereas proficiency in the surrounding majority language is a prerequisite for educational achievement and access to the labour market. Both facts of life put pressure on a variety of communicative settings within any multi-ethnic society. An obvious meeting-ground for this pressure is education, where both majority and minority languages can be chosen as the subject or instrument of learning. In spite of an increasing impact of immigration and the emergence of ethnic minority groups in Dutch educational institutions over the last two decades, it took a long time before Dutch government came to realize that the existence of ethnic group languages and the existence of Dutch as a second language would ask for a rethinking of traditional and hitherto unquestioned concepts in education.

After a discussion of crossnational trends in Western Europe (section 2) and basic statistics on ethnic minority (henceforward EM) groups in the Netherlands (section 3), attention will be paid to the consequences of language diversity in the domains of elementary, secondary, and adult education (sections 4, 5 and 6). In each of these sections, the focus will be on both first and second language acquisition by EM groups. In a final section (7), some major conclusions about the present state of the art will be presented.

Meanwhile, several extensive bibliographies on EM research in the Netherlands have been published, covering a wide range of topics in different periods of time. Ellemers et al. (1988), Koulen & Smit (1988), and ACOM (1989) focused on the periods of 1945-1986, 1985-1986, and 1984-1989 respectively. The ACOM bibliography for the first time contained a separate section on "language", with a total number of 84 references.

Survey studies of research on first and second language acquisition or language use of EM groups in the Netherlands have been published by Appel (1986), Extra, van Hout & Vallen (1987), Extra & Vallen (1985, 1988, 1989), and Kroon & Vallen (1989). Most of these studies focused on second rather than first language acquisition.

2. Crossnational trends in Western Europe

It has been estimated that in the year 2000, one-third of the population under the age of 35 in urban Europe will have an immigrant background. As yet, these demographic trends have not led to a proportionally motivated emergence of crossnational studies on the education of EM groups in European countries. Only a small number of rather diverse studies on various countries have been published. An early collection of studies on the language and education of EM groups in the Netherlands, Belgium and Federal Germany was published by Nelde et al. (1981). Tosi (1984) reported on some previous work in EC countries on bilingualism and education in a multi-ethnic society. Churchill (1986) examined a wide range of factors determining the process of policy making during the last two decades for the education of both indigenous and non-indigenous minority groups in OECD countries. Boos-Nünning et al. (1983) offered a comparative perspective on the education of EM children in Belgium, Great-Britain, France and the Netherlands, within the framework of an evaluative study of different experimental programmes. These programmes were carried out under the auspices of the EC Ministers of Education in the cities of Genk, Bedford, Paris and Leiden. In the framework of this crossnational EC project, Tosi (1984) paid special attention to processes of language maintenance and shift over time within the Italian community in Bedford. Fase (1987) did a comparative study on home language instruction programs for EM children in Belgium, France, Great-Britain, Federal Germany, Sweden, and the USA. Finally, Eldering & Kloprogge (1989) collected various reports on the educational or linguistic position of EM children in similar countries (minus the USA, plus the Netherlands). From these reports, the following crossnational trends emerge (see also Extra & Vallen 1989).

1. In all countries similar demographic trends can be observed over time. First, an economically motivated process of migration, especially originating from Mediterranean countries, took place. This migration related to contract workers who were expected to stay for a limited period of time. As the period of their stay gradually became longer, the pattern of economic migration was followed by a pattern of social migration of remaining families. Finally, a second generation was born in the immigrant countries and grew up with uncertainty and ambivalence about whether to 'stay or go'. These demographic shifts over time are also reflected in shifts of denotation for the groups under consideration (foreign workers, migrant workers, immigrant families, and ethnic minorities, respectively), and in repeated demographic

announcements by governmental authorities that their country "should not be seen as an immigrant country".

2. In all countries under consideration, most EM groups have a disadvantaged status from various perspectives. First of all, they have a low socio-economic status, determined by a low level of education and profession or employment. Moreover, their legal status is poor; the inequality of legal rights between majority and minority groups is marked for EM groups originating from non-EC countries. Finally, the languages and cultures of the source countries of EM groups commonly have a low status in the perception of the indigenous majority; this is especially true for EM groups originating from Islamic countries. Because of the demographic shifts mentioned under (1), there is a growing percentage of EM groups in educational institutions. When taking a closer look, however, one finds an overrepresentation of EM groups in lower types of education and an underrepresentation in higher ones.

3. EC guidelines on the education of EM groups were published in 1977 and came into force in 1981. Boos-Nünning et al. (1983) and Tosi (1984) discussed these guidelines from a historical perspective. The guidelines called for special attention and facilities for both L1 and L2 instruction. However, these guidelines did not result in a consensus about the weight of the two languages in the actual school curriculum. In fact, there is a top-down focus of dominant groups (e.g., national or local authorities, school principals, and majority language teachers) on L2 acquisition, most commonly in combination with a rather negative attitude towards L1 maintenance over time. On the other hand, there is a bottom-up focus of dominated groups (e.g., ethnic community organizations, parents, minority language teachers) on L1 acquisition and L1 maintenance over time. Corresponding with the demographic shift mentioned under (1), a shift over time can also be observed in the arguments of L1 instruction for EM children. Initially, its importance derived from the prospect of return-migration to the country of origin. More recently, its importance for the development and maintenance of ethnic identity, for the purposes of intergenerational communication, and for L2 acquisition is being stressed.

4. L1 and L2 are most commonly taught by different teachers. In fact, bilingualism is seen as a desirable objective for EM groups rather than as a necessary precondition for their teachers. A common characteristic of L2 teachers is that they have little, if any, command of the L1 of EM groups. Typically, L1 teachers have a low L2 proficiency (although L1 teachers are usually more proficient in the two languages under consideration than L2 teachers), and a low team status within schools in terms of type of contract, number of lessons to be given, and participation in team decisions. Table 1 gives a survey of qualifications

that are commonly attributed to the distribution of majority and minority teachers, pupils and languages in elementary schools.

Table 1. Distribution of majority and minority teachers, pupils, and languages in elementary schools

Teacher	Pupil	Language	Attribution
Maj	Maj	Maj	regular instruction
Maj	Min	Maj	second language instruction
Maj	Min	Min	beyond conception
Maj	Maj	Min	beyond conception
Min	Min	Min	home language instruction
Min	Maj	Min	beyond conception
Min	Maj	Maj	gaining support
Min	Min	Maj	gaining support

5. Finally, there is a broad spectrum of variation in the proficiency of EM groups in majority and minority languages. The common intergenerational pattern of language shift over time, observed in predominantly English speaking immigrant countries like the USA, Canada or Australia is as follows:

Interaction Preferred language	
parent to parent	minority language
parent to child	minority language
child to parent	minority plus majority language
child to child	majority language

As yet, it is unclear to what degree such patterns of language shift over time will apply to which EM groups in Western Europe. However, although the concepts of first language (L1) and second language (L2) will be used to refer to the dominated minority language and the dominant majority language respectively, it must be borne in mind that such equations will become less obvious over time.

3. *Ethnic minorities in the Netherlands*

It is often erroneously suggested that immigration and multilingualism are recent phenomena in Dutch society. As in other industrialized European countries, the number of immigrants in the Netherlands at any time seems to correspond with its relative economic and cultural prosperity. From historical research (cf. Lucassen & Penninx 1985) it can be gathered that in the 17th Century, a period of great economic and cultural prosperity in the Netherlands, about 10% of the population came

from abroad. This figure decreased during the 18th and 19th centuries to less than 2%. With the economic revival of the 1960s and 1970s, the figure grew again to 7% in 1988, especially because of the immigration from Mediterranean countries and former Dutch colonies. Table 2 gives a survey of the main non-indigenous groups in the Netherlands (n > 1500) in January 1989; at that time, the indigenous Dutch population amounted to 14.181.600 inhabitants.

Table 2. Main non-indigenous minority groups in the Netherlands, January 1989

1.	**Ex-colonial territories**		**4. Refugees**		
	Surinam	210.000		Vietnam	6.400
	Dutch Antilles	66.000		Pakistan	4.300
	Moluccas	40.000		Ghana	4.200
				Hungary	4.000
2.	**Mediterranean countries**			Turkish Christians	3.700
	Turkey	177.300		Poland	3.100
	Morocco	139.700		Ethiopia	2.700
	Spain	17.400		Sri Lanka (Tamils)	2.600
	Italy	16.100		Czechoslowakia	2.000
	Yugoslavia	12.200		Chile	1.800
	Portugal	8.100			
	Greece	4.300	**5. Countries with similar SES**		
	Tunisia	2.600		West-Germany	40.700
	Capverdian Isl.	2.300		Great-Britain	37.400
				Belgium	23.300
3.	**Chinese**	31.000		USA	10.700
				France	8.100
				Ireland	3.400
				Austria	3.000
				Canada	2.600
				Switzerland	1.900

The actual or estimated figures derive from the Central Bureau of Statistics and from Muus (1989). Within the total non-indigenous population of the Netherlands, the following main groups can be distinguished:

1. Immigrants from former Dutch colonies. Surinamese may be speakers of Sranan-Tongo, Sarnami, Hindustani, Javanese, Hakka, or Surinamese Dutch, whereas Antillians may be speakers of Papiamentu or Dutch. Both in Surinam and on the Antillian Islands, Dutch has so far preserved the status of official language. Within the group that hails from the former Dutch East Indies, the Moluccans take a special position from a cultural, linguistic and religious perpective, and because many of them "repatriated" involuntarily to the Netherlands in 1951 and have since then been stateless. Moluccans may speak Moluccan-Malay, High-Malay, Melaju-Sini or Dutch.

2. Labour migrants and their families from Mediterranean countries. Most of them originate from Turkey and Morocco, two Mediterranean countries that do not belong to the member-states of the European Community. Turks may speak Turkish, Kurdish or Turoyo-Aramese, whereas Moroccans may be speakers of Moroccan-Arabic or mutually different Berber varieties like Tarifit, Tamazigt or Taselhit.
3. Chinese immigrants from countries like China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore and Hongkong. Chinese may speak Mandarin-Chinese, Cantonese, Whenzhou or Shanghai-dialect.
4. Political refugees from Eastern-Europe, Asia, Africa and South-America.
5. Immigrants from countries with a socio-economic status comparable to the Netherlands.

In contrast to immigrant countries like the USA, Canada or Australia, no periodical census on home language use of EM are collected in the Netherlands. As a consequence, little reliable information is available on the actual distribution of home language varieties used by the different groups under discussion.

Table 3. Non-Dutch students in various types of education, during 1985/1986 school year

	N1	N2	%
Elementary education (BO)	1.468.720	82.775	5.64
Special education (SO)	99.545	5.042	5.06
General secondary education (AVO)	804.826	20.434	2.54
Lower vocational training (LBO)	359.252	19.139	5.33
Secondary vocational training (MBO)	276.241	3.181	1.15
Higher vocational training (HBO)	148.863	3.232	1.49
University education (WO)	168.858	3.482	2.06
N1: total number of students N2: total number of non-Dutch students % : percentage of non-Dutch students			

Prognoses of the Dutch Interuniversity Demographic Institute (cf. Schoorl 1988) refer to a significant increase of the number of Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants in 1992, as a result of extended family reunion, marriages, and birth rates. For Turkish inhabitants, the estimated figures fluctuate between 190.000 and 197.000, for Moroccans between 157.000 and 163.000. For other groups, reliable estimates are difficult to give. Entzinger (1987) estimated the number of new immigrants to be at least 25.000 per year until the end of the 20th century. The four largest EM groups (Surinamese, Antillians, Turks, and Moroccans) are concentrated in the four largest cities of the Netherlands (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht). The influx of EM children in elementary schools in these cities is presently about 40%, and will increase to more than 50% in

the year 2000. However, there is a large variation in percentages between different schools. In the country as a whole, the number of elementary schools with more than 50% of EM children increased by 70% between 1980 and 1984. Table 3 gives a survey of non-Dutch students in various types of education during the 1985/1986 school year (cf. Roelandt & Veenman 1988).

In the year 1985/1986, more than 137.000 non-Dutch students participated in these Dutch educational institutions. EM students are especially underrepresented in general secondary education and overrepresented in lower vocational training. Whereas about 70% of all native-Dutch students participate in the former type of education and 30% in the latter, these percentages are approximately reverse for Turkish and Moroccan students.

4. *Ethnic minority children in elementary education*

The first governmental report in which the education of EM children was taken into account, was published by the Ministry of Social Affairs (Roolvink 1970). In this report, two alternative approaches were indicated, i.e. "regular" vs. "national" education. The first concept related in fact to submersion in classrooms with native Dutch children; the second one related to home language instruction, and it was conceived as a preparation for later return migration. The Ministry of Education took a different perspective and was more concerned with the consequences of a permanent stay in the Netherlands. Over the years, however, the focus of the Ministry of Education was on social disadvantages of EM children rather than cultural or linguistic differences (e.g. Van Kemenade 1974, Minister of Education at that time). The main reason why the Chinese community in the Netherlands has not been included in the target groups of governmental EM policy until now derives from the fact that it has not been shown that the Chinese have a disadvantaged socio-economic status comparable to that of other EM groups. The biased focus on social disadvantage led to repeated announcements about "language deficits" as a standardlike qualification for a relatively low proficiency in Dutch as a second language, and to a systematic underestimation of the value and possible role of ethnic community languages in education. EM children were actually conceived as "handicapped" bilinguals who should give up their home language in order to make a successful educational career in monolingual Dutch schools. Minister Pais, van Kemenade's successor at the Ministry of Education, also stressed the "multiple disadvantage" of EM children, a concept that included "language deficits". In the policy plan of Pais (1981) however, a conceptual shift was expressed in the announcement of the following major goals for education:

- education should contribute to eliminating the disadvantaged position of EM groups by means of special facilities for L2 instruction;

- education should take into account the identity of EM groups by means of special facilities for home language instruction;
- education should contribute to the development of a multi-ethnic society by means of intercultural concepts.

Concrete guidelines for classroom activities, however, remained vague, both in terms of first and second language instruction. This vagueness was a direct effect of a general and historical reluctance to define the content or didactics of any type of education in Dutch governmental policy. Moreover, the concept of "intercultural education" was actually conceived by many Dutch teachers as a non-compelling alternative to home language instruction. As yet, the concept of bilingual education did not appear on the government's agenda, and international trends on first and second language instruction for EM children (e.g., in the US, Canada, or Sweden) had a surprisingly low impact. Although many EM children had already passed through Dutch elementary classrooms in the early eighties, an expert report of the ACLO *Moedertaal* (1982) had to mention that instruction in Dutch as a second language should be conceived as a specialism that differs largely from instruction in Dutch as a first language, and would therefore need drastic modifications in teacher training programs. The ACLO report went its way unnoticed by the government. Moreover, the need for choosing between different educational models for home language instruction, oriented towards language transition or language maintenance, was not recognized (cf. Extra & Vallen 1989).

As a consequence of demographic shifts over time, another trend in elementary education for EM children has been the shift in attention from higher grade entrants (i.e., children who immigrated into the Netherlands) to first grade entrants (i.e., children born in the Netherlands and having their successive educational experiences together with native Dutch peers from the beginning). During the seventies, higher grade entrants were assigned to separate classes that were heterogeneous in terms of both ethnic background and age range. Apart from separate instruction in L2 Dutch, EM children received additional instruction in particular subjects (e.g., handicraft or gymnastics) together with native Dutch children. If the number of EM children at a particular school was low, these children were most commonly submerged in "regular" classes, with some extra-curricular attention of special L2 teachers during a few hours per week. Hardly any specific course material for L2 instruction existed, nor were there specific diagnostic instruments for measuring L2 proficiency at various stages of the school curriculum. Moreover, teachers were not prepared or trained for this type of instruction. Experiences were locally gained in practice, without professional support or country-wide documentation. As a result, there was little exchange and accumulation of knowledge. Given the distant role of the government in matters of content or didactics, educational policy was basically oriented towards the assignment of extra teaching hours. These facilities were related to

duration of stay in the Netherlands rather than to duration or type of L2 learning problems.

During the eighties, the focus of educational concern shifted towards EM children who entered Dutch elementary schools from the age of 4 - 5 years together with native Dutch peers. Meanwhile, a rather wide variety of course material for L2 instruction came into existence (cf. Bienfait & Salverda 1987 for an overview), including a diagnostic test for measuring oral skills of 5 to 9 year-old children (cf. Verhoeven et al. 1986). Because surveys of L2 materials were descriptive instead of evaluative, new problems arose. Teachers find it difficult to select the right material in their specific conditions. Moreover, little material is available for the training of particular skills at particular ages, e.g. techniques for expanding the receptive and productive vocabulary of younger children or promoting the literacy (both reading and writing) of older children.

In the new Elementary Education Act that became operative in 1985, a complex system of determining the total number of teachers was introduced at each elementary school. The precise number of eligible teachers is yearly recalculated per school, depending upon socio-economic variables of the children's parents. Cumulative staff facilities are assigned to a particular school in cases of immigrant background of (one of) the parents, low level of parental profession or schooling, and one-parent families. However, many school principals and teachers do not recognize the linkage between these factors and the total number of staff for their school. Consequently, the extra facilities originally meant for the specific support of EM children are often used for rather different and heterogeneous purposes (cf. Tesser et al. 1989). The Dutch Advisory Council on Elementary Education (ARBO), being in favour of submersion of EM children in regular classes, made an urgent plea for a goal-oriented earmarking and distribution of these facilities (cf. ARBO 1988). However, the Minister of Education has not honoured this advice up till now. Although many EM children throughout the elementary school curriculum are in need of special assistance given their lower proficiency in Dutch compared to native Dutch children, they are often submerged in regular classes without adequate support. Depending on the ethnolinguistic variation within a particular classroom, such support may be given within or outside regular lessons. The need for special instruction is in particular observed in parts of the mainstream curriculum where Dutch is the culture-dependent medium of instruction. A major point of concern is the transfer of L2 skills acquired in lessons on Dutch to other subjects where proficiency in Dutch is instrumental for learning, e.g. in geography lessons.

Apart from EM children who enter Dutch schools together with native Dutch peers, higher grade entrants are in need of special attention. According to the earlier mentioned ARBO (1988), these children should be intensively prepared for mainstream education by specially trained and motivated teachers, instead of being immediately submerged in regular classes. The teachers' efforts should maximally build on and profit from previous learning experiences of the children in their

respective home countries. From a socio-cultural point of view, the children should learn to cope with an abrupt transition to a new environment; from a linguistic point of view, they should receive systematic and effective L2 instruction in intensive programs. In conformity with recommendations of the ARBO (1988), special facilities have been granted for such instruction to single or clustered schools during a maximum of one year, as a preparation for mainstream education. In a number of cities throughout the country experimental programs have been set up to gain experiences with these preparatory classes.

Another major point of concern remains home language instruction (henceforward HLI) for EM children. In spite of many arguments in favour of HLI (cf. Extra 1989), the Ministry of Education did not assume any responsibility in this domain during the seventies. There were some private initiatives of parents, embassies or migrant workers' foundations, and HLI usually took place outside the school at extra-curricular hours. In the mid-1970's the national government began to take more responsibility for HLI. It acquired a modest place within the school curriculum and during school hours, and it increasingly took place under the jurisdiction of local school authorities.

Towards the end of the 1970's, government came to acknowledge the fact that the majority of children would stay in the Netherlands. This acknowledgement led to policy modifications with regard to HLI (cf. Pais, 1981). Ultimately, the position of HLI was settled as follows in Article 11 of the earlier mentioned Elementary Education Act (1985, translated quotations):

1. For the benefit of pupils from a non-Dutch cultural background, school authorities can introduce HLI into the school curriculum. By general rule, the National Council on Education having been consulted, it is decided to which pupils the aforementioned instruction will be given.
2. Pupils who are not registered at a particular school can also be admitted to HLI in those cases in which their own school does not provide this instruction.
3. Pupils are only obliged to receive this instruction at the request of their parents.
4. Of the hours spent on HLI, two and a half hours at the most are to be counted among the total number of hours of instruction which pupils are supposed to receive every week.
5. The maximum time of HLI is set at six hours a day.

The Elementary Education Act reveals remarkable differences in legal treatment of indigenous as opposed to non-indigenous minority languages (cf. Extra 1989). A salient example is Frisian, spoken in the province of Friesland. While Frisian is a compulsory subject for all children in Frisian schools and exemptions must be requested and motivated by the parents concerned, HLI for EM children "can" be given, if local school authorities deem it to be useful, if pupils concerned fall within the scope of specific groups to be determined by the Minister of

Education, and if the pupils' parents insist on such instruction. Moreover, Article 11 indicates that HLI for EM children is not necessarily provided under the same roof as the rest of the curriculum. According to present regulations, HLI can be offered to the following target groups:

1. children who have at least one parent of Moluccan origin;
2. children of foreign workers from Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Cap Verdians, Morocco, Portugal, Spain, Tunisia, or Turkey;
3. children of parents from member states of the European Community not mentioned under 2, in accordance with EC guidelines;
4. children of legally admitted political refugees.

Access to HLI is not granted to three other relatively large ethnic groups in the Netherlands: Chinese, Antillian, and Surinamese children. As mentioned before, the Chinese are not conceived as a target group of governmental policy on EM groups (note 1). Antillian and Surinamese children are excluded, because Dutch is the official language of these ex-colonial source countries. Due to historically derived and repeatedly expressed strong anti-Indonesian resentments of the Moluccan community in the Netherlands, however, Moluccan children have access to HLI in Moluccan-Malay instead of Bahasa, the official language of Indonesia. Finally, and again apart from Moluccan children, access to HLI is limited to EM children whose parents (or at least one of them) immigrated into the Netherlands.

The main arguments of opponents of HLI are that it is segregational and will lead to an accumulation of deficits, because EM children will miss "regular" lessons. Against this background, a repeatedly asked question in governmental policy has been: what are the effects of HLI on educational achievement (cf. e.g., WRR 1989a). In this biased conception, progress in home language proficiency as a result of HLI is not taken into account as "educational achievement". If it were, the policy question would become totally vacuous. Moreover, various reports have shown that participation in HLI does not lead to lower results in other subjects (including Dutch), and may even have positive effects on these subjects (cf. Appel 1984, Roelandt & Veenman 1988, Driessen et al. 1989). Finally, all available findings point to a strong ethnic community support of concerned parents, children, and teachers for HLI (cf. Van de Wetering 1986).

A widely collected survey of the Inspection of Education at all elementary schools that offer HLI in the Netherlands (n = 1.251, response 96%) showed that many Dutch school principals and teachers were insufficiently informed about HLI (cf. Inspectierapport 27, 1988). Descriptions of goals and contents of HLI were often lacking, and many planned lessons were not given. Moreover, there was no significant connection between HLI and the rest of the school curriculum, nor between home language teachers and their colleague-Dutch teachers. Finally, the available course material for HLI was insufficient and rather inadequate (see also Driessen et al. 1987).

In a climate of public debates about the right of existence of HLI, the Institute for Curriculum Development published a report (cf. Project-

groep Legio 1987) to reduce the continuing uncertainty about the target groups of HLI, and about its goals, contents, effects, and relationship with the rest of the school curriculum. The Legio report was meant as a content-oriented proposal that would elicit feedback from a variety of concerned groups (cf. Meestringa 1989 for a collection of comments). A remarkable governmental confirmation of the importance of HLI was recently announced in a testamentary report of Ginjaar-Maas (1989), the late Deputy Minister of Education. In this report, the following guidelines were confirmed:

1. EM children who wish to take part in HLI, should have the right to do so.
2. HLI is a school task, and it should therefore be a regular part of the school curriculum (note 2).
3. HLI should aim at language acquisition and language maintenance over time, in order to get and keep access to ethnic community cultures, and it should contribute to the development of a cultural identity in Dutch society.

Moreover, Ginjaar-Maas stressed the importance of bilingual education for EM children throughout the elementary school curriculum. Although HLI should especially be promoted in the lower grades, including the possibility of using the home language as a medium of instruction in other subjects, HLI should remain a regular part of the curriculum in higher grades for 2,5 hours per week. Moreover, HLI should focus on the standard language of the source country of EM children; if there were a substantial gap between home language and standard language, the former would be permitted as a medium of instruction in the lower grades. Due to financial restrictions, no extension of the target groups of HLI was proposed, e.g. in terms of language background or generation. Access of third generation children to HLI, however, was taken into consideration.

One can speculate about the reasons for the remarkably affirmative testament of Ginjaar-Maas (1989a), after a decade of strong restraint. One reason is overtly expressed in the report itself. Recently, the Scientific Council for Governmental Policy in the Netherlands, published a report on EM Policy (WRR 1989a) in which HLI was further marginalized. The Council made a plea for transferring HLI outside the "regular" school curriculum, for considering such instruction as a "voluntary by-product" for those children who want to take part, and for restricting such participation to already denominated target groups "because of the growing heterogeneity of home language backgrounds" of EM children. Obviously, the Ministry of Education wanted, at this particular point, to anticipate a favourable governmental reaction to the Council's advice, and, as it looks now, not without success.

Another, more covert reasoning of the Ministry of Education in favour of HLI might be to counterbalance the growing tendency within at least some EM groups to found their own schools. Dutch education is

primarily based on constitutional freedom of denomination. In practice, this implies the right of any individual or group of individuals to found a school, appoint a school board and teachers, and organize instruction according to a particular denomination, if at least 50 potential pupils for such a school can be recruited and maintained. Any school can expect full financial support from the government, if it operates within the legal margins of number and type of subjects to be taught, teacher qualifications, and examination standards. In this way and over many decades, Catholic, Protestant and non-denominational schools were founded and given financial support. Most recently, the first Islamic and Hindu schools have been added to this spectrum on the basis of the same constitutional right. However, the pressure on this development was bottom-up rather than top-down, and initiatives in this domain have been treated reluctantly by both local and national authorities.

5. Ethnic minority students in secondary education

As a main trend in elementary education for EM children, the shift of attention from higher to first grade entrants was mentioned in section 2. A similar trend emerged more recently in secondary education. During the seventies, immigrated youngsters were most commonly referred to so-called "international classes", which were intended as a one- or two-year transition period before students would enter mainstream secondary education. Within these classes the focus was on intensive L2 instruction (cf. Fase & De Jong 1983). Due to the heterogeneity of target groups and the absence of precise goals, qualified course material, and specially trained teachers, these classes became a final station instead of a bridge to further education for many EM students. A large variety in the number and type of extra-curricular L2 lessons was also evidenced in a confidential report of the Inspection of Secondary Education, offered to the Minister of Education in 1983 (cf. Inspectiewerkgroep 1983). In this report, based on the outcomes of questionnaires, the Inspection made an urgent plea for the improvement of L2 instruction and for a better preparation of teachers for this type of instruction.

In 1987, the Ministry of Education changed the facilities for EM students in secondary schools. In fact, this change led to a reduction of facilities for extra L2 tuition. Moreover, the facilities were to be limited to the period of residence in the Netherlands (rather than to observed learning problems), and they were to be granted only if both parents of a particular student had immigrated from an exhaustively specified group of Mediterranean or ex-colonial territories. In practice, the existing facilities are insufficient for all EM students who are in need of special L2 tuition. Moreover, little information is available on how these facilities are actually used or mis-used in secondary schools (cf. Van Gurp 1989 for a multiple case study). Corresponding with governmental policy on higher grade entrants in elementary schools, new facilities have been granted in the meanwhile to selected secondary schools for the develop-

ment of experimental intensive program for recently arrived, limited- or non-Dutch speaking students, as a preparation for mainstream education. In these programs, experiences are being gained with special instruction in subjects like L2 proficiency (including initial literacy), L1 proficiency, and arithmetics.

The earlier mentioned Scientific Council for Governmental Policy recently published a series of documents on desirable terminal goals for a whole range of subjects for 12-16 year old students in secondary education. In the Council's document on Dutch language (cf. WRR 1989b), similar terminal goals for both native and non-native Dutch speaking students have been formulated. However, native-Dutch speaking students were the Council's common point of reference, and special needs or ambitions of EM students have only rarely been taken into account.

There is a growing number of EM children who start their educational career in secondary schools on the basis of past experiences at Dutch elementary schools. Given the hierarchically differentiated structure of secondary education in the Netherlands, the advice of elementary school directors for the most suitable type of secondary schooling for EM children is a good indicator of these children's educational achievement at the end of elementary schools. There is evidence that the social composition of elementary schools has an influence on these recommendations; if schools have many EM children, these children tend to receive "higher" recommendations for the type of secondary schooling (cf. Tesser et al. 1989). The most common explanation for this phenomenon is that elementary schools with a large population of EM children will spend more time and will focus more specifically on their learning needs. However, the actual elementary school performance of EM children in specific subjects like Dutch language, arithmetics, and world orientation should be taken into account in the first place (cf. Kerkhoff 1988). To study the relationship between the results in these subjects and the type of advice for secondary schooling is one of the main goals in an ongoing nationwide evaluation of elementary school performance (cf. Kloprogge 1989).

A major educational change for pupils who enter secondary schools is the increase of different teachers and different subjects. This change is even greater for EM children who have a lower proficiency in Dutch than their native-Dutch peers. Most commonly, they are in need of more academically oriented skills and knowledge for taking part in lessons where Dutch is the subject or medium of instruction. Special L2 instruction may be organized at separate extra-curricular hours or in integrated lessons with both native and non-native Dutch speaking students. In the latter case, there will be large variation in the number and L2 proficiency level of EM students. As yet, there is hardly any evidence on the contents or effects of these two types of instruction.

Although there is a variety of course material for L2 instruction in secondary schools, most material is not oriented towards the more advanced L2 learning problems of EM students who previously took part

in Dutch elementary schools (cf. Bienfait & Salverda 1986 for a survey of available course material). The same characteristics hold for the most widely used diagnostic instrument for testing L2 proficiency (cf. Van der Linden et al. 1983). A major obstacle for most EM students is the reading comprehension of Dutch text books throughout the secondary school curriculum (cf. Hacquebord 1989, Hofmans-Okkes 1987). Haquebord (1989) showed that Turkish students had significantly lower scores on Dutch vocabulary comprehension tasks than their native-Dutch peers. Steinert et al. (1985) developed a series of booklets for dealing with Dutch jargon in a variety of professional subjects. The main issue is that progress in subjects like mathematics, geography, history, or economics is not only dependent on the availability of a rather abstract and sophisticated vocabulary, but also on more hidden general background knowledge. It is precisely the latter domain where EM students do not necessarily share the standards of their native Dutch peers. Because of these differences in general background knowledge, EM students tend to get fewer turns and less attention from their Dutch teachers in daily practice. Apart from a lack of specialized course material for L2 instruction, as yet no specialized training has been foreseen for teachers of Dutch or teachers of other subjects who have to cope with non-native Dutch students in their classrooms.

Governmental concern for HLI of EM students in secondary education was only expressed for the first time in 1985, when an extension of the Secondary Education Law was proposed and adopted. Since then, HLI for EM students has been allowed with similar restrictions as can be observed in the Elementary Education Law discussed in section 4. HLI "can" be offered, if local school authorities deem it to be useful, and if the students concerned fall within the scope of specific target groups to be determined by governmental decisions. Apart from Moluccan-Malay and Turoyo-Aramese (for children of Christian refugees from Turkey), instruction should be given in the standard language of the countries of origin. The need for standard language instruction was also evidenced in a report of De Jong et al. (1988), who studied the attitudes of EM parents at this particular point. Parental attitudes were shown to derive largely from the status of standard language use and from its function of access to literacy. Moreover, De Jong et al. found that especially Turkish and Moroccan secondary school students were eager to improve their proficiency in Turkish or Arabic. Highly positive attitudes towards secondary education in these two languages were also reported by Bergman (1989).

In 1987, the Inspection of Special Services published the outcomes of a survey on HLI in secondary schools, based on written questionnaires, oral interviews, and classroom observations (cf. Inspectierapport 15, 1987). HLI was offered at 31 schools in 1986/1987 (a figure that rose to 81 in 1988/1989). The most frequently offered languages in 1986/1987 were Turkish (25x) and Arabic (23x), whereas Spanish and Portuguese were offered only twice and once respectively. Most teachers were not (yet) qualified for HLI, and apart from HLI they mostly had a variety of tasks at different schools. The degree of participation in HLI was quite high for

Turkish and Arabic (66% and 74% respectively, in first year groups of secondary schools), and most students were highly motivated to take part in these lessons. The proficiency level of EM students in the target languages of instruction showed large variation. At the same time, the teachers worked with a variety of imported or self-made course material. Only half of the schools had formulated specific goals for HLI. On the basis of these findings, the Inspection team made a plea for extending HLI to more EM groups, for integrating HLI in the rest of the school curriculum, and for the development of terminal goals, course material, and language proficiency tests.

With respect to curriculum and course ware development for HLI, first initiatives have again been taken for Turkish and Arabic. With the financial support of the government, the so-called "ARTUVO project" was launched as a cooperative initiative of the National Institute for Curriculum Development (SLO) and the city of Amsterdam. For these two languages, also special three-year teacher training programs were initiated in 1984 in Amsterdam (Arabic) and Rotterdam (Turkish). Since the start of these programs, the interest in admission amongst EM students has been much larger than the limited capacity of the programs would allow for. Meanwhile, both the quality of the first ARTUVO course material and the quality of the teacher training programs have received a critical response (cf. Schoolblad, April 1989; Buitenlanders Bulletin, June 1987).

Given the underrepresentation of EM students in higher types of secondary education, HLI is as yet primarily offered in the lower types. In all cases, ethnic group languages can be chosen as subjects instead or on top of other subjects, including French or German. A remarkable difference between legislation on traditionally taught foreign languages like English, French, and German, and recent ethnic group languages in the Netherlands is that the latter can not be taken as a subject by native-Dutch speaking students. The restriction of ethnic group language instruction to "home" language instruction does not only lead to unequal treatment of students and languages, but it also implies arbitrary decisions on questions like who speaks this "home language" to whom in what circumstances (cf. Extra 1986). Does the concept of "home language", for instance, relate to the primary language of both parents, in interaction with each other, and/or with their children?

As yet, research on non-indigenous language needs at secondary schools in the Netherlands has focused on the needs of native speakers of Dutch (e.g., former students) in the traditional domains of English, German, and French (cf. Buis & Oud-de Glas 1982). There is an urgent need of more sophisticated statistics on yearly interest in non-indigenous language instruction amongst all students in secondary schools. On the basis of such data, policy plans should be developed with respect to the type and number of non-indigenous languages that should be offered in schools, and for which curriculum development, teacher training, and teacher recruitment should be promoted. Moreover, a comprehensive national policy should be devised for education in other languages than

traditionally have been taught in Dutch secondary schools. In table 4, a survey of non-indigenous languages is presented that at least should be taken into account in such a policy.

Table 4. Survey of non-indigenous languages to be taken into account in secondary educational policy

	1	2	3	4	5
English	+		+		
German		+	+		
French		+	+		
Italian			+	+	
Spanish			+	+	
Portuguese			+	+	
Greek			+	+	
Danish			+		
Irish			+		
Turkish				+	
Arabic				+	
Moluccan-Malay				+	
Serbo-Croatian				+	
e.g. Chinese					+
Papiamento					+

Present status of 1-5:

1: compulsory in upper elementary education and in most types of secondary education
2: German or French compulsory in most types of secondary education as "second foreign" language
3: official languages of European Community member-states
4: ethnic group languages admitted in secondary schools for native-speakers of these languages
5: examples of ethnic group languages not officially admitted in secondary schools

As is indicated in columns 1-5 of table 4, the actual prestige of these languages in secondary education is rather different. The status of Frisian in Dutch education has not been taken into account (cf. Extra 1988); it is an optional language with specified goals and standard examination procedures, offered to both native and non-native speakers of Frisian in the province of Friesland. Chinese or Papiamento, which is the indigenous language at the Dutch Antilles, are not officially allowed as ethnic group languages in secondary education for reasons mentioned in section 4. However, Papiamento was introduced for the first time in a

secondary school in The Hague in 1988/1989 (cf. Samenwijs, October 1989, 68-69).

Given the g-owing cooperation between member-states of the European Community, teacher training programs for education in all national languages of the EC countries are presently being stimulated via the "Lingua" exchange program of the Erasmus Bureau in Brussels. In 1984, the Ministers of Education of the EC declared that the proficiency of member state students in foreign languages should be enhanced (note 3). Every member-state should promote student proficiency in at least two "foreign" languages, and at least one of these languages should be the national language of an EC member-state. In secondary school types in the Netherlands where students are obliged to take two "foreign" languages, these languages have always been English and German, or English and French. This traditional menu should be extended to other EC languages and to ethnic group languages, whether EC languages or not. Given the extending patterns of intercultural communication within Europe and abroad, a national policy plan on the type and number of non-indigenous languages to be offered at secondary schools should capitalize on the variety of languages already available in the Dutch community (cf. Van Els et al. 1990 for recent recommendations with a tendency in this direction). If well conceived, such a plan could have an exemplary function for other EC member-states.

The earlier mentioned testament of the late Deputy Minister of Education took a similar perspective. Ginjaar-Maas (1989) made a plea for extending the variety of EC languages and ethnic group languages in secondary education, and for extending the target groups of instruction in these languages to both majority and minority students. At the same time, the Ginjaar-Maas report stated that extensions could only gradually be introduced, given their financial implications. For this reason, the proposed extension of ethnic group languages in secondary schools should initially be limited to ethnic minority students of the second generation, i.e. students whose parents immigrated to the Netherlands. It is in particular the latter restriction that calls to mind an educational climate of temporary concessions.

6. Ethnic minorities in adult education

Even more than in secondary schools for adolescents, there is a huge diversity of institutions and target groups in the area of adult education. With respect to both first and second language instruction for non-native speakers of Dutch, at least the following questions arise:

1. what are the educational needs and ambitions of non-native speakers of Dutch?
2. what kind of educational programs are offered to this target group, in terms of goals, contents, and results?

3. what kind of mismatches can be observed between educational programs on the one hand, and educational needs and ambitions on the other?

As yet, little empirical evidence on each of these questions is available. In 1984, the Central Bureau of Statistics for the first time collected large-scale data on "language problems" of 1000 Turkish and 1000 Moroccan heads of families in the Netherlands (cf. CBS 1984). The concept of "language problems" related to different situations of language contact, i.e. understanding Dutch TV news, reading a Dutch paper, talking with a Dutch doctor, and writing a letter in Dutch, Turkish, or Arabic. The reactions of the chosen informants were matched with their age, duration of stay in the Netherlands, and previous schooling. Especially literacy in Dutch (i.e. proficiency in both reading and writing) was very limited for older adults with a low level of education and a long duration of stay. The CBS questionnaire, however, was not very sophisticated and reliable, given the high probability of attitudinal answer bias.

In the area of adult education, Verhallen (1986) made an inventory of existing L2 programs for non-native speakers of Dutch. The inventory showed evidence of a large variation in educational institutions, target groups, goals, and contents of L2 instruction. Most institutions used a variety of existing and self-made course material, without clear indications of systematic and stepwise L2 instruction. In this section we will focus on basic and secondary education for non-native speakers of Dutch respectively. Basic education is offered within a system of governmental facilities for both native and non-native speakers of Dutch, who have had less than two years of previous secondary schooling; instructional programs focus on elementary skills in Dutch, English, arithmetics, social behaviour, and job orientation. Secondary education for adults in the Netherlands is primarily meant as second chance schooling for all students who wish to enter higher types of education in a later stage of life.

First data on participants, teachers, and activities in basic education for adults were collected by Doets & Huisman (1988). Their study was based on written questionnaires, completed in 1988 by 220 institutions. Information was gathered on more than 52.000 participants in basic education, a figure that amounts to 80% of the total number of participants in the Netherlands. 42% of all informants belonged to EM-groups; most of them were unemployed Turks or Moroccans under thirty with a low level of previous schooling. Most teachers were native-Dutch and part-time volunteers; in fact, there were more volunteers than professionals in 40% of the institutions, very few full-time professionals, and even less teachers belonging to EM groups. The most frequently organized activities were courses of Dutch as a second language; most L2 programs were based on 2-5 hours of instruction per week. As yet, HLI for EM groups is a marginal phenomenon in basic adult education; facilities mainly relate to HLI in terms of an initial or temporary bridging towards L2 instruction. Only 47 out of 220 institutions organized courses on

Turkish or Arabic for only 4% of Turkish or Moroccan participants; even most literacy courses for illiterate adults focused on L2 instruction. Unfortunately, no information was gathered on L1/L2 needs, goals, contents, or effects of instruction; neither was any information gathered on the quality of instruction or the quality of preferred course material. From various perspectives, the data of Doets & Huisman (1988) are alarming. This holds especially for the low level of professionalization and for the low intensity of instruction. If EM groups should reach a L2 proficiency level that would be sufficient for further education or a qualified position on the labour market, more intensive L2 courses with specified goals, contents, and evaluation procedures would be needed in combination with more qualified and better paid teachers.

The lack of financial means for improving the quality of basic education can also be illustrated by the fact that 45% of the earlier mentioned 220 institutions had waiting-lists for interested candidates in L2 instruction. Recently, the Scientific Council for Governmental Policy published a report that included recommendations on the improvement of adult education for EM groups (cf. WRR 1989a). In the area of basic education, the Council made a plea for expanding the capacity of existing programs, for eliminating the waiting-lists mentioned before, for free-of-charge access to basic education, and for nationally recognized final certificates with civil effects. Under the condition of fulfillment of these requirements, the Council recommended to change the right of EM groups to basic education into an obligation to participate for those who are in need of this type of schooling. Meanwhile, the latter proposal has provoked so many negative reactions that it is not very likely that it will be translated into governmental action. It would certainly make more sense to focus on a comprehensive obligation of teacher training and educational professionalization rather than on a selective obligation for adult EM groups to take part in basic education.

EM students who have had some previous secondary schooling in the Netherlands or abroad, have no official access to the facilities of basic adult education. Although such students can take part in a variety of part-time or full-time secondary education programs for adults, the actual degree of participation of EM students in these programs is relatively low, whereas drop-out rates are high. The programs offered have high thresholds for admission, and they are not particularly oriented towards the needs and ambitions of EM students. In fact, the programs should offer far better possibilities of access to higher education for these students.

A Program Committee on Dutch as a second language in adult secondary education, installed at the instigation of the Inspection for Adult Education, published a report in 1986 with a number of recommendations for improving the quality of L2 instruction for this particular target group (cf. Reuten et al. 1986). Suggestions were made with respect to interim and final goals of L2 instruction, intensity of instruction (at least 10 hours per week), access to further education, and improvement of teacher training and course ware development. As yet,

the committee's recommendations have not been translated into affirmative governmental action.

During the seventies, the available course material for L2 instruction focused heavily on grammatical skills for highly schooled adult L2 learners (e.g., university students). More recently, the spectrum of course material has been broadened to different types of skills for different types of learners, e.g. course material for elementary listening comprehension, vocabulary acquisition for advanced learners, or acquisition of literacy by illiterate adults (cf. Jansen & Van Veen 1985 for a discussion and survey of L2 course material for adults). Nevertheless, there is a need of more sophisticated course material for advanced learners in differentiated types of further education; apart from specialized course material, this need includes reference grammars, dictionaries, and L2 proficiency tests for advanced learners. The most widely used L2 test programs at this moment have been initiated by the Central Institute of Test Development (cf. Janssen-Van Dieten et al. 1988) and the Dutch Language Union (cf. Beheydt 1987). The former test program is meant for target groups in lower professions, whereas the latter has originally been meant for target groups abroad. In practice, the Dutch Language Union's Certificate on Dutch as a *Foreign* Language is also asked for and distributed in the Netherlands, due to the absence of an officially recognized system of L2 tests and certificates in the Netherlands with a civil effect.

Similar shortcomings can be observed in teacher training programs or teacher qualifications. Although L2 instruction is widely considered as a highly specialized type of educational activity that differs from both first and foreign language teaching, there are no extensive specialized teacher training programs or teacher qualifications for this profession. Examples of how to change this state of the art can be found at various places abroad, e.g. in the USA (ESL programs) or in Sweden.

7. Conclusions and perspective

Over the last decade, a huge increase of the literature on both first and second language acquisition and teaching of EM groups in the Netherlands can be observed. Unfortunately, much of this literature is only documented in semi- or unpublished reports and written in Dutch. As a consequence, access for an interested audience abroad is very limited. It is only cold comfort that a similar phenomenon can be observed in other European countries dealing with similar issues (e.g., the extensive Swedish literature on bilingualism of EM groups). This trend of inward orientation should at least partly be reversed in order to promote crossnational and crosscultural communication and research.

Ethnolinguistic variation in the Netherlands is conceived by most majority groups (e.g., Dutch policy makers, school principals, or teachers) in terms of "problems" and "deficits" rather than resources and differences. This biased conception is evidenced in the government's policy definition of EM target groups. Socio-economic status is the decisive criterion for access to special facilities instead of ethnolinguistic

status. Even within this restrictive policy, facilities are only granted for a limited number of EM groups, depending upon source country background or duration of stay, and they are only granted during a limited period of time. The overt or covert argument for such temporary concessions is that "both first and second language problems will disappear over time". In a sense, this argument shows that if majority languages are conceived as problems for minority groups, then minority languages should be conceived as problems for majority groups. Also in the perception of scholars abroad, it is a paradoxical phenomenon that many of the Dutch elite who spent about half of their secondary schooling in learning English, French, German, Latin, Greek, and Dutch, generally take a rather negative attitude towards the learning of ethnic community languages by EM groups (note 4). A partial explanation of this paradox should be looked for abroad. Census data on home language use of Dutch immigrants in the US, Canada, and Australia show that the Dutch belong to the EM groups who give up their home language within one generation (cf. Veltman 1983, De Vries & Vallee 1980, Clyne 1982). Apparently, language is not conceived by many Dutch immigrants as a core-value of cultural identity (cf. Smolicz 1979). Mirror-like attitudes on home language shift seem to prevail in Dutch expectations of EM behavior in the Netherlands.

There is an urgent need for a policy on ethnolinguistic variation that would seriously explore and extend existing non-indigenous language resources in the Netherlands. Such a policy should also include a periodical, large-scale collection of census data on home language use. Especially in the latter domain of demolinguistics, advantage should be taken of multiple experiences abroad in solving the paradox between sophisticated information on home language use and large-scale collection of such data.

A typical characteristic of research and development activities on education in the Netherlands is the separation of research (at universities), curriculum development (at the National Institute of Curriculum Development, called SLO), and test development (at a similar institute, called CITO). Especially in the non-traditional field under consideration, more long-term cooperation between these different institutions, with an input of both linguistic and educational expertise, is needed if serious progress is to be made. Another typical restraint of developmental activities on education in the Netherlands is that course ware development is not conceived as a national task. The so-called principle of "free education" has provoked a strong governmental reluctance to stimulate, finance, and evaluate the development of first and second language course material for EM groups. As a result, this particular field of course ware development shows a lack of incentives, cooperation, and professionalism, and a lack of accumulation of knowledge.

Present-day efforts in the domains of elementary, secondary, and adult education for EM groups should be extended and coordinated, both with respect to first and second language learning and teaching. These efforts

should include the development of professional teacher training programs and teacher qualifications. In combination with these efforts, research should focus on descriptive and evaluative studies on language learning and teaching, taking into account teacher and learner behaviour, and teacher-learner interaction. From a methodological point of view, these studies should include in-depth longitudinal case-studies and cross-sectional studies on larger groups of informants. Process-oriented studies should focus on first language learning, second language learning, and the interaction between both. Output-oriented studies should focus on effects in terms of language proficiency and language attitudes, and they should include the development of diagnostic instruments for measuring type and degree of bilingualism.

Finally, the Ministry of Education installed a national task force in 1989 for promoting the quality of activities in second language instruction for EM groups in elementary and secondary education (cf. Uitleg 18b, July 12, 1989 for a task description). From the perspectives taken in this paper, it may be needless to conclude that the scope and composition of this task group should be extended to both first and second language learning in elementary, secondary, and adult education.

Notes

(1) On the private initiatives of concerned parents in the Chinese community, more than 20 Chinese schools have been founded in the Netherlands in which Chinese is taught at extra-curricular hours, in addition to the educational program of "regular" schools. The total number of children participating in these Chinese lessons was estimated at 4000 in 1988, covering an age-range of 4 - 12 years (Information derived from Stichting CCRM, Mathenesserlaan 481, Rotterdam).

(2) In the Inner London Boroughs, where a similar conception is adhered to, the Inspectorate for Bilingual Development and Community Languages (which is a subdivision of the Inner London Education Authority) is not prepared to authorize or examine any home language instruction at non-regular or extra-curricular hours (Personal communication of Min-Tsow, BDCL Inspector).

(3) Declaration of June 4, 1984. In fact, the declaration of EC Ministers had a low profile, because it was based on a list of "conclusions" instead of "recommendations". In the EC jargon, only the latter concept has a more compelling status.

(4) At the traditional grammar school, which still has a high prestige in the Netherlands, Latin and Greek were commonly taught during at least six hours per week each. The cultural prestige of these dead languages was high enough to preclude questions on "effects" of

instruction. For this reason, even a widespread later loss of laboriously acquired translational skills was and is taken for granted.

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THREE DECADES OF FOREIGN-LANGUAGE TEACHING IN THE NETHERLANDS

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1. Introduction

In 1986 the Dutch Modern Language Association (*V.v.L.i.L.T.*) celebrated its 75th anniversary. To mark the occasion it brought out a special issue of its journal *Levende Talen (LT)*, exclusively devoted to the history of language teaching in the Netherlands since the turn of the century. At the end of my contribution to this issue (Van Essen 1986), surveying seventy-five years of grammar teaching, I quoted Baardman (1961) as having said: "As the distance grows less it becomes more difficult to get a clear view of the matter". At the time this difficulty occasioned me to conclude my article at the year 1968 and to dispose of any later developments in a few general remarks. What was true then is true today. Lack of distance is a difficulty facing anybody who writes contemporary history. It is not for nothing that the Dutch historian Von der Dunk draws our attention to it in the introduction to his book *De organisatie van het verleden*(1982): "Genuine historiography [would] therefore only [be] possible if a certain distance has occurred". And the problem does not grow less if, along with Von der Dunk (1982:49), we consider that it is only after a certain lapse of time that the primary and secondary sources that should enable us to give a full and reliable account of past events become accessible to us. Our predicament is further aggravated by the fact that the researcher, as a contemporary or even as a participant, is usually even more partial than any post-temporary historian. I am, I was, I do not know how to put it, both an eyewitness and a participant. I am therefore facing a precarious venture. Of course, I could refer the reader to what a number of philosophers have said (cf. Von der Dunk 1982:28), namely that the past is unknowable in principle (as no predictions can be derived from it), and leave it at that. But I have decided to face up to the challenge. And in so doing I have taken courage from the way in which others, bolder than myself, have described the recent past. In the preparation of this paper I have used the following sources (cf. Von der Dunk

1983:41): (1) my own eyewitness account of the past as the most directly available source; (2) the eyewitness accounts of others: "hearsay";
(3) written accounts. The latter type of source comprises contemporary professional literature and green papers. The green papers that never came to anything alone provide sufficient material for numerous PhD theses in the next century and for wistful reflections on what might have been but never was. As for the literature I have confined myself chiefly to *LT*. After all this was, and still is, the official organ of the association of those most directly involved in the foreign-language teaching operation in Holland. I have started with volume 45 (1959), the year in which my own history in foreign-language teaching began, and have worked my way through the ensuing years, scouring every fifth volume, up to the present (1989). In discussing these volumes I shall also take into account some of the more influential green papers. At first I wanted to apply the same principle to *Toegepaste Taalwetenschap in Artikelen* (*TTWiA*, the journal of the Dutch association of applied linguistics), but on second thoughts I rejected the idea for two reasons: (1) TTWiA is primarily concerned with research, not with teaching. Nor is it always concerned with research on *foreign*-language learning. But I will mention *TTWiA* whenever it is concerned with teaching. (2) My original plan simply proved too ambitious. In this paper I propose to restrict myself to institutional foreign-language education in Holland. I shall deal with it partly chronologically, partly thematically. I shall begin with a discussion of the professional literature. It will be obvious that my selections from the literature will be comparatively arbitrary. The choice of different volumes of *LT*, for example, would indubitably have led to a somewhat different picture. Also, writing history on the basis of the professional literature has its limitations. Remember that it is not the silent, conservative majority that fills the columns of the professional journals. So our picture needs complementation by data from teaching practice. Unfortunately, educational practice is not directly accessible to us. To supply this want I will not shrink from personal reminiscences. Besides I shall briefly discuss two surveys of teacher attitudes to classroom practice. I shall also mention in passing the results of an investigation among secondary-school students as to levels of performance in a foreign language after three years of training. And since educational practice is in part also determined by the coursebook used, some of these will also be reviewed. In so doing I will chiefly limit myself to those with which I am reasonably familiar, either as a user or as an evaluator. And finally I will provide a summary of what I regard as the distinguishing characteristics of the period.

2. 1959-1989

1959. This is the year in which my own history of foreign-language (FL) teaching begins. I was demobbed from the R.N.A.F. where I had been in crypto- analysis and began the study of English. On the advice of one of

my teachers I became a student-member of *V.v.L.i.L.T.*. In this, at least for me, first volume of *LT*, there was still a preponderance of philological (in its Continental sense) articles, but also the final instalment of an interesting series of reflections on the future of FL teaching by Herman Bongers and a number of articles on vocabulary selection. When Bongers concluded his series a conference had just been held at Woudschoten (Holland) on the methodology of FL instruction. At this conference, and in the presence of the selfsame Bongers, the psychologist C.F. van Parreren had passed a remark to the effect that in secondary education it does not do "to make inferences for FL learning from the way in which the child learns his mother tongue". Nor was a "bilingual environment" relevant in this context (Van Parreren, 1959:2). This remark had gone down the wrong way with Bongers as is evident from the following quotation: "...whoever takes the trouble to study FL teaching at one of the leading centres will find that traditional methodology has long been discarded and that one has been working for years [...] according to a methodology that has important features in common with the learning process as it develops in children learning their mother tongue or in toddlers growing up in a bilingual environment" (Bongers 1959:228). With all respect due to Bongers I am of the opinion that the warning Van Parreren gave at the time was a very appropriate one and one that we could take to heart even today. For in Holland we have to do chiefly with *foreign*-language teaching in educational settings. For this reason conclusions drawn from research into *second*-language acquisition cannot be accepted for FL learning without further evidence. Bongers also reproached Van Parreren for introducing new terms: "*Learning through cognitive structures* and *a receptive or autonomous learning process* are terms which aren't nearly so clear as *code-aspect* and *behaviour aspect*...". What Bongers was referring to here was the distinction made in 1937 by his friend H.E. Palmer between "language as code" and "language as behaviour", a distinction Palmer had derived from the Saussure (Bongers 1959:229). But the question of the historical priority of this dichotomy does not concern us here. The point at issue for us is that the terms distinguished embody two views of FL teaching, the "code" one relying on cognitive psychology and the "behaviour" one leaning on behaviourism. Moreover, the distinction entails a number of other issues, which have continually played a part in Dutch FL teaching over the past thirty years, such as the question of whether a foreign language is learnt by understanding or by practice, or whether the structure of the language should be taught implicitly or explicitly. In a recent article by Bolte (*LT* 1989:662) about the interactive basis of communicative capacity, the distinction re-appears, but now as the antithesis between "manipulating the language" and "acting with the language".

1964. Fifteen per cent of the articles in this volume of *LT* relate to FL teaching. One is about the language laboratory, one about English grammar for the first year. The latter publication, by the Methodology Commission, contains the following observation: "It is of greater impor-

tance that students should be able to automatically comprehend and apply the principal sentence patterns than that the vocabulary should exceed a certain minimum, for if one handles the sentence patterns correctly the expansion of the vocabulary leads to an expansion of the potentialities of expression, but without a command of the proper sentence construction correct language use is out of the question". It may even lead to "total incomprehensibility" (*LT* 1964:163). Note that twenty-five years ago even the Methodology Commission insisted on formal correctness. And on this commission were people like Bongers, Breitenstein, Kuiper, Mossel, and Van Willigen. What manner of men were they? Of the people I have named I have known only Bongers and Breitenstein well. But all of them were classroom teachers. Language officers or language consultants there were few in those days. Bongers was a household name in those days, a man of great merit in the field of FL education. In recognition of this the *British* Royal Academy bestowed a fellowship on him. In 1963, when I was a teacher of English at a secondary modern school in Rotterdam, my colleagues and I paid a visit to Bongers's school to attend one of the demonstrations that he used to give of his Oral Approach Method. This was a direct method based on behaviourist principles, which also drew on insights from Gestalt psychology. All of us were deeply impressed by what Bongers had been able to achieve with his pupils in the first year in the way of speaking the FL. On the return trip one of my colleagues remarked: "What Bongers can do, only Bongers can do". And up to a point this was true: the great man possessed a colossal charisma. Bongers and the other pioneers in the field of FL teaching we had in those days were people who were actuated not only by a vision of the future of FL teaching but first and foremost by pedagogical motives and by an idealistic perspective of the future of mankind, such as is also found among the first generation of Reformers (cf. Jespersen 1904:179). In this connection I should like to quote from an article by Bongers in the same volume of *LT*: "today [FL teaching] is not so much a cultural matter as a matter of prime importance in world politics" (Bongers 1964:38). This position may seem somewhat extreme, but the point at issue here is that with the vanishing of gurus from FL education the overall view of the pupil has also disappeared. It is true that in the seventies we got pupil-centred instruction in return, but let's face it, educationalists or educational sociologists and our old-fashioned paternalistic pedagogues are not really the same! And this was the kind of difference that front-line teachers had to try and make up for. Bongers's above-mentioned polemic against Van Parreren throws into relief another point of difference with the present, namely that the views of the old pioneers often lacked any empirical foundation, whereas it is the very hallmark of present-day applied linguistics that it is data-orientated and that advice and views on FL teaching have no validity unless they are backed up by empirical evidence (Van Els & Radstake 1987:14). In many respects 1964 was a turning-point. To meet the demands that the post-war world made on FL education, 14 secondary schools embarked on a teaching programme leading up to a school-leaving examination that reflected modern views about FL teaching. Thus, the

translations were scrapped from the examination, whereas an oral and a written comprehension test were included. At the oral examination the candidate was required to talk for at least three minutes in the foreign language on the basis of a text handed to (him/her) before he was tested. Articles from newspapers and magazines were formally admitted as examination matter. Much of what constituted this experimental school-leaving examination was subsequently incorporated into the regular examination programmes for the new secondary (modern) schools. While these developments were taking place, however, the majority of Holland's over 10,000 FL teachers were totally ignorant of what went on. So, with the new Education Act, which was regarded as the finalization of these developments, about to be introduced in 1968, in-service refresher courses had to be hurriedly put together. I myself took an active part in the teaching of some of these. Together with Father Mooijman and others I travelled up and down the country to speak to gatherings of FL teachers at secondary modern schools, expounding and demonstrating modern methodology. As background literature for these meetings we used Lado (1957 and 1964), Brooks (1964), Halliday, McIntosh & Strevens (1964), and later Rivers (1968). I have the best of memories of these meetings. Much better, for example, than of the so-called Orientation Courses which, it should be said, under the inspiring leadership of G. Smit, we ran on behalf of the Three Pedagogical Centres for FL teachers at secondary schools. I remember our teachers at secondary modern schools as better motivated and less sceptical than our grammar school teachers. An article laying the groundwork for much of our future FL education and applied linguistics appeared in the same volume of *LT*. It was by the British scholar Peter Strevens and had been translated into Dutch by Bongers (Strevens 1964). Just because *V.v.L.i.L.T.*'s Central Committee saw in Strevens's piece the endorsement of their own policy (see Van Willigen 1964:613), I thought it appropriate to review its chief elements here. As the causes of what he regarded as the "revolution" in FL teaching Strevens saw "the greater ease with which one travels, the growth of tourism, the develoment of radio and television, the growing internationality of the programmes put out by the media, the increased facilities for education, the growth of organizations for international co-operation, and many other factors" (Strevens 1964:615). Did Strevens see any differences between 1964 and 1940? He did: FL teaching had evolved from a trade into an applied science, backed up by technology. The craftsmanship of old had been replaced by specialized products, based upon linguistic analysis and on the principles of programmed instruction (PI), supported by language laboratories and filmstrip projection, deployed in small classes undergoing intensive training and in self-study cubicles, and evaluated by means of objective tests. And today [1964] the language and the literature lessons were also kept more strictly apart. Linguistic insight had also grown. One had become more keenly alive to the fact that, since the speech community is heterogeneous, those varieties of the FL should be described that our students are in need of. Account should also be taken of the learning needs of our pupils. Here the need for individual-

ization made itself felt. I shall return to this issue later. As far as the feeder disciplines are concerned Strevens saw a central role for linguistics: once it had supplied contemporary descriptions a move could be made in the direction of improving language courses by means of contrastive analysis (CA). It would be some time, however, before contrastive descriptions would be available and in the meantime one would have to make do with error analysis (EA). Applied Linguistics would have to concern itself with the selection, ordering, and presentation of course content, CA, studies in the field of comprehension and comprehensibility, bilingualism and multilingualism. Psychology ought to concern itself with the learning process, more specifically the learning process relative to the factor "age", PI, and teaching machines, but also with level, progress and skill tests. On an organizational level Strevens pleaded for the creation of a national centre for information on language teaching (CILT) in addition to more international co-operation. In the sixties and seventies the foundation of such a national centre in the Netherlands was the long cherished ambition of not a few experts in the field of FL teaching. That it failed to materialize was due in large part to the emergence of Institutes of Applied Linguistics, which gradually began to fill the need for information on language teaching (Van Els 1974:502). In my account of FL teaching in the Netherlands I have used Strevens's topics as points of reference for the years that followed its publication.

1969. One year after the introduction of the new Education Act, this volume of *LT* naturally contains discussions about the first new (*havo*) school-leaving examinations and about the diffulties of designing objective tests to go with existing coursebooks. As for the new school-leaving exams, they had "come in for a lot of criticism and besides pleas for the reintroduction of translations there were also such as recommended different ways...". Polemics for and against the new school-leaving exams, more particularly about the centrally administered tests have since been a regular feature of both the professional literature and the dailies. The statement just quoted might as well have come from a recent newspaper report. The 1969 volume of *LT* also contained an article by J.W. Meijs (1969) about transformational-generative grammar and FL teaching. In this article the profession is being asked the by now well-known question of whether any explicit knowledge of the language (Palmer's "language as code") would lead to proficiency in the foreign language (Palmer's "language as behaviour"). Meijs holds the view that "generative knowledge" of the foreign language is also, and much more readily, acquired by intentional confrontation with and practice in the foreign language. If I am not mistaken the two articles in the same volume by A.G. Sciarone (1969) on CA are both the first and the last on this subject in *LT*. I cannot go into the details of Sciarone's two contributions here. For those who know this scholar it will not be a surprise to learn that he makes a strong plea for more and better linguistic knowledge among applied linguists. In the same vein Sciarone offers a *linguistic* explanation for a phenomenon that others tend to view as a *psychological* problem: the overgeneraliza-

tion of a grammatical rule (i.e. the absorption of marginal cases, which may be similar to the source language, by the majority: "Does he be ill" instead of "Is he ill?"). A publication in the same volume that is of interest to applied linguists is a draft scheme for FL teacher training by Van Ek & Mossel (1969). This article maps out the future applied linguist as well as his/her training. In the same volume I also came across the announcement of the introduction of English in the Primary School (EIBO). The aim of the project, it said, was "to teach every child a usable knowledge, however small, of at least one foreign language and to use the sensitive age of 8-12 for the purpose" (Breitenstein 1969:273). EIBO was to be piloted at six primary schools in the Utrecht area. The project was to be conducted by J.A.M Carpay. The first phase of EIBO was concluded and evaluated long ago (Carpay & Bol 1974). The second phase got isolated from the new logistic organization and in 1978 EIBO passed into the hands of the Foundation for Curriculum Development (SLO) at Enschede. In 1986 EIBO was introduced into the whole of Dutch primary education. Recently a research institute in the North of the Netherlands (RION) has assessed the current EIBO situation (Edelenbos 1988). This report shows that since its introduction English has acquired a permanent if modest place in the primary school curriculum (3.5 percent of the time available). The language is taught almost exclusively through course-books that are commercially obtainable and that the teacher follows closely. During the lesson the emphasis is on the speaking and listening skills. In teaching these skills the majority of teachers adhere to traditional methods. There is little if any individualization of instruction. As far as the latter is concerned, the seventies were very much the Age of Individualization, at least on paper. In those days our institute (i.e. the Groningen Institute of Applied Linguistics) was collaborating with a number of comprehensive schools on a project for individualizing FL instruction. I vividly remember the countless meetings devoted to the topic of the uniqueness of each individual pupil who should determine his/her lot in absolute autonomy. But I also remember that I could not help feeling sorry for the teachers, who were being supervised by scores of soft-spoken welfare workers. Within the framework of pupil-centred learning FL teachers had to design their own teaching materials which, in the shape of multicoloured handouts, and helped by the general climate of permissiveness, would litter the classroom like confetti. There has been so much suffering because of this. Individualization requires a lot of planning at school level. It became popular when it was thought that by individualizing instruction it would be possible to postpone the selection of children who attend secondary schools. For research had shown that the factor of "social environment" plays a crucial role in the selection of pupils for post-primary education (*Verder na de basisschool* 1982:23). In the decades that lie behind us several approaches to individualization have been tried out such as those which take into account the learner's needs, rate and style of learning, interests, etc.. The most recent variety is perhaps that according to "topic of interest", which has been applied with

a degree of success in some secondary modern schools (*Mavo-projekt*). But today individualization has largely gone into eclipse.

1974. This volume begins with a policy statement to the effect that in addition to articles bearing on the subject taught the editors would also like to include articles in which research is translated into practice (Hawinkels 1974:95). As if to contradict their own policy the editors subsequently devoted an almost complete issue of *LT* to experimental research into FL learning. The issue concerned opened with an extremely readable contribution by Ickenroth containing the following statement: "[in my] survey of foreign research I have gradually become increasingly removed from the direct questions of educational practice"! (Ickenroth 1974:487). That the editors did not succeed in clearly defining their target readership appears from the fact that one group of readers broke away and founded their own journal: *ENGELS*,"a journal by and for teachers" as it said in the subtitle. Shortly after Dutch applied linguists also founded their own organ: *TTWiA*, which first came out in 1976. Thus theory and practice started to increasingly grow apart. For one who regularly attended *V.v.L.i.L.T.*'s annual meeting this impression was further reinforced by the fact that at these meetings one saw fewer and fewer practising teachers and more and more people from the logistic and educational support services. It was equally significant that vacancies on the committee were increasingly filled not by classroom teachers but by members of the educational support services or university departments. I am of the opinion that here we have to do with one of the big differences between then and now: while in the old days it was still possible for an Executive Officer of a teachers' association to get by with a sound knowledge of his/her subject and some rudimentary pedagogics, today he/she needs to be thoroughly familiar with preliminary reports, green papers, memoranda, and what have you in order to be able to survive at all in the policy-making jungle. And what classroom teacher possesses this familiarity? In the *LT* issue we just discussed I also found an article by M. Boot on course evaluation by computer (Boot 1974). In the mid seventies course evaluation was a popular issue: Van Maris & Sciarone did it by computer for French (Van Maris & Sciarone 1976), Van Essen et al (Van Essen & Simons 1976 and Van Essen & Van Ess 1977) did it on an intersubjective basis for English. Surface course evaluation has since passed into the hands of *Centrale Registratie Leermiddelen* (today called *Nationaal Informatiecentrum Leermiddelen*) and quite useful guidelines for the evaluation of FL language coursebooks have been drawn up by Mondria & De Vries (1987). It should not be inferred from what I said above about *TTWiA* that the volumes of this journal never contained any contributions relevant to FL methodology. On the contrary, the first issue contained a number of extremely interesting reflections on the relation between linguistics and language teaching in which, if I remember correctly, the former came off rather badly. Subsequent issues of TTWiA dealt with among other things curriculum development, including the familiar topic of vocabulary selection. There seems to have been some

tacit understanding between *LT* and TTWiA to the effect that *LT* would place articles on vocabulary learning (cf. Eringa 1974 and Schouten-Van Parreren & Van Parreren 1979) and *TTWiA* those on vocabulary selection and word recognition. Of late this policy has been changed, witness a symposium held by Anéla, the Dutch association of applied linguistics, in the spring of 1989. For quite some time vocabulary selection has been out of favour due to the creative aspect of language use postulated in TG circles, but today it seems to be a fashionable topic again. After all our skeleton of required terminal behaviour (*Eindtermen*) needs some flesh on it. In addition to curriculum development the following topics were also dealt with in *TTWiA*: "language tests" (nr 5), "education as an interactional problem" (nr 16b), and teacher education.

1979. This year is still largely dominated by arguments for and against the so-called *Nota Aanzet*, a green paper put out by Van Ek & Groot in 1976, providing a framework for discussion of a national curriculum for modern foreign languages. Even though the term "notional-functional" was not used as such by the authors, the green paper implicitly embodied a notional- functional approach. No green paper on FL education in this country has ever caused such a stir. It was distributed on a massive scale and the discussions which ensued could have served as a model for the Government to settle national issues, like that of nuclear energy. Today we do not have to go over all that ground again. It is sufficient to state that in addition to being widely acclaimed, the green paper also came in for a lot of criticism. However this may be, the way in which language use is being conceived in this green paper, namely as a form of co-operation through language, which takes place somewhere, between people who stand in some social and psychological relationship to each other, who are talking about something, who want something from each other, in a word as a situational, socio-psychological, co-operative, meaningful act, matched, perhaps not wholly unintentionally, by developments in pragmatics and sociolinguistics. That's why the green paper gave a tremendous boost to initiatives towards communicative language teaching in Holland that had derived their inspiration from developments in these feeder disciplines. It is no exaggeration to say that the discussions following on the publication of the *Nota Aanzet* have definitively shifted the emphasis in our thinking about FL teaching from "language as code" to "language as behaviour".

1984. We are now getting closer to the present and our vision is getting increasingly blurred. A look at *LT* shows us that this volume contains little that is new. Everything seems to be quiet on the educational front. There is an article which contains suggestions for developing the speaking skill and an article about cassettes, one about the examination programme and one about communicative language teaching, one about language and culture, and so on and so forth. But this volume also contains a complaint. A complaint to the effect that an association of well-meaning amateurs such as *V.v.L.i.L.T* cannot possibly keep up with the

pace at which education is being professionalized (1984:274). Volume 1984 also has a special issue devoted to cursory-topical FL teaching (if this means anything to anyone outside the Netherlands), especially within the so-called *Mavo-projekt*. Individualization revisited.

1989. We are now in the middle of actuality. Old topics that are being treated in this volume are word acquisition and curriculum development. But there also new elements: models of lessons on a notional-functional basis as well as contributions from the classroom about language and culture, German grammar, role-play, and so on. This volume contains a special issue about *Advies over de voorlopige eindtermen basisvorming in het voortgezet onderwijs*, a green paper describing the required terminal behaviour after three years of secondary education. So many green papers are being put out these days that teachers are barely able to cope with them all. My own head swims, because I have got too close. I should like to take a few steps backwards in order to be able to discuss some other things.

Coursebooks. The book with which I started my own career was of the direct type (*On Modern Lines*) and had been written by students of the legendary Brother Rombouts. It was based on Reform principles. It was far less popular than *English in a New Form*, which I used later. Though of the grammar-translation method kind, this book had a connected text at the beginning of each lesson. Later I used Bongers's *Oral Approach* and after that *This is England*, an audiovisual course on which I myself had worked together with Mooijman and others. This coursebook I used until 1971. All these coursebooks had been produced in the Netherlands and some of them in collaboration with native speakers. In subsequent years, when I was no longer a secondary schoolteacher, coursebooks were increasingly imported from abroad and either adapted to the Dutch situation or not at all. A very popular coursebook of this type according to the direct method was *New Concept English* by L.G. Alexander. An originally Dutch coursebook on direct principles that has stuck it out for a very long time was Look. The relative popularity of transformational-generative grammar played into the hands of the more conservative teachers (and publishers). This is perhaps why the seventies saw an increase in the number of coursebooks in which either grammar rules were again taught explicitly or the possibility to do so was offered. A coursebook which was quite popular in this respect was *Learning English. Modern Course*. At the end of the seventies more and more so-called communicative coursebooks began to appear. A recent survey shows, however, that for all their communicative pretensions such coursebooks do not teach us how to communicate, simply because they do not incorporate the pragmatic rules which govern the use of the foreign language in its socio-cultural context (Mondria-De Vries 1989). Besides coursebooks some surveys, carried out among teachers, give us some indications of what goes on in the Dutch classroom. More than a decade ago Van Zwieteren (1979) conducted a survey among secondary modern school

teachers (*mavo-3* en *mavo-4*). Van Zwieteren found a dearth of appropriate teaching methods, even if the majority of teachers were prepared to expand their methodological arsenal. He also found that, even though teachers devoted a lot of attention to explicit grammar with a view to the writing skill, less than half of their pupils attained a reasonable level of proficiency in this skill. Between 1981 and 1896 Van Els & Buis (1987) attempted to chart classroom practice in the upper forms of secondary schools (*havo/vwo*) by conducting telephone interviews with and sending out questionnaires to FL teachers. I may be allowed to quote some of their findings. In the period under investigation the four language skills were increasingly taught separately. Teachers are conspicuously short of methods and activities for teaching the speaking skill. In teaching this skill they pay less attention to grammatical correctness than they used to do, but much attention is still paid to grammar when the writing skill is involved. In the teaching of both these skills the question of whether "the message comes across" is regarded as crucial. Teachers display a large variety of methods and activities for the teaching of reading, while they allow themselves to be dominated in the teaching of listening by the tests developed by the Dutch National Institute for Educational Measurement (CITO). In the teaching of both these skills there is a growing tendency to occasionally use the native language, especially during the French and German lessons. Certain elements of the grammar-translation method are still highly valued, such as the explicit learning of grammar rules and the learning of bilingual wordlists. The language laboratory, which in 1981 was still used by over a quarter of the teachers interviewed, was used in 1986 by only 5 percent of our teachers. In 1986 the Groningen Institute of Applied Linguistics (Van der Tuin et al 1986) carried out an investigation into the level of achievement in reading, listening and speaking of pupils in post-elementary education (*lbo, mavo, havo*) after three years of training in a foreign language (English, French, German). The sample was drawn from a population of twelve schools distributed over the four Northern provinces of the Netherlands. The aim of the investigation was to gain an insight into what may reasonably be required of and thus be incorporated into the terminal behaviour of all students after three years of integrated post-elementary FL teaching. As far as the reading and listening skills in German and English are concerned 80 percent of the subjects did reasonably well or even better. That is to say that they were able to provide correct answers to two out of three questions about authentic texts, such as a newspaper article and a weather forecast. This was also true of the reading skill in French, but for the listening skill in French the score was lower. Oral proficiency in English was deeply disappointing, that in French even more so. Perhaps the latter was to be expected. By way of comparison, while the transfer of information was satisfactory for 70 percent of the pupils in the case of German, this was only 25 percent in the case of English. The reading and listening abilities do not differ for *lbo, mavo-3*, and *havo-3* pupils, but oral proficiency does: *havo-3* pupils do better than *mavo-3* pupils and the latter do better than *lbo* pupils. As for English, we should do well not to overestimate our

pupils' syntactic and lexical knowledge: 20 percent of them will not be able to use productively more than one-third of the basic syntactic rules or know receptively more than 500 out of the first 1,000 most frequent words. In the light of these findings one may well ask whether the taxonomy of terminal behaviour (*Advies over de voorlopige eindtermen basisvorming in het voortgezet onderwijs*) which has recently been put forward, is indeed a feasible proposition.

3. *Retrospect*

I am nearing the end of this paper. Looking back on the past three decades I should like to recap briefly the main characteristics of the period.

1. From something static FL teaching has evolved into something very dynamic.
2. The emphasis has been shifted from knowledge about the language to knowledge of the language.
3. Thirty years ago coursebooks were written by Dutch authors for the home market. These days they are increasingly written by foreign authors for a world market. Authentic materials are all the rage. CA is out.
4. Curriculum development, more specifically aims, objectives, and terminal behaviour, have been very much in the forefront, especially during the past two decades. Teaching methodology has remained underexposed.
5. The pupil has become more of a learner, the teacher less of a pedagogue.
6. Gurus have vanished from FL education. They have been replaced by technocrats.
7. Teachers' associations such as *V.v.L.i.L.T.* are fighting a losing battle.
8. Teaching the individual language skills has come to require a variety of activities and methods, but classroom practice has not kept pace with this development.
9. The Dutch used to be proud of their foreign-language education.

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POLICY-MAKING IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING *

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1. Introduction

My taking stock of developments in foreign language teaching policy was not in all respects made easier by the fact that I myself have regularly contributed to the discussions on the topic in our country (see list of references). Not only can a succession of references to previous publications of one's own easily create the impression of some degree of immodesty, but there is also a serious risk that one may lose sight of the true proportion of things. The fact that, in the process of stock-taking, I have hardly come across views or statements of my own that I would now disclaim, is not in itself very reassuring. This may point to a large measure of consistency -or, rather, tenacity- on my part, but is not necessarily a guarantee for the correctness of the views pronounced. In the last instance, it is for the reader to judge.

The major theme of this paper is a further clarification and definition of the contribution of the applied linguist to the translation of his research findings into foreign language teaching policy. For one who, like me, has of late been intensely engaged in writing a National Programme of Action for Modern Foreign Languages -commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of Education-, such an exercise is very much like an act of soul-searching. No one will call the need for such a National Programme of Action (NPA) in question, but is it all right for the professional applied linguist to be so directly involved, even if his contribution is properly compensated for financially by the government? That , of course, is a pertinent question, and it seems a proper theme for a day like this at which we, applied linguists, take stock of our achievements and reflect on the future perspectives of our discipline.

I will start by defining what for the purposes of this paper is to be understood by foreign language teaching policy. After that I will pursue three lines of approach: first, I will discuss some developments in the Netherlands in the last few decades; second, international developments; and, finally and more in particular, the Dutch NPA.

2. *Foreign Language Teaching Policy: defining the field*

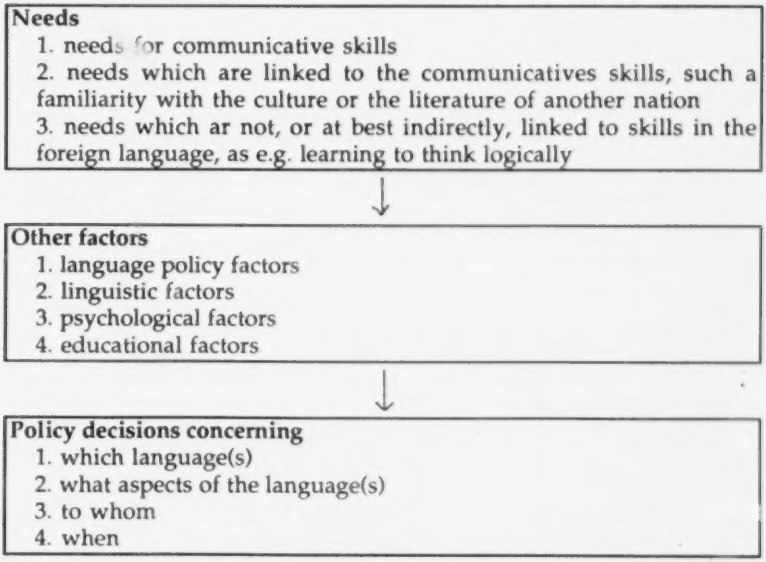
Decisions on aims and organization of foreign language teaching (FLT) are taken at various levels. The actual implementation of FLT in the classroom is mainly decided on by the teacher, day after day, whether or not in consultation with his colleagues. A number of important matters concerning his teaching have, however, already been decided upon before the teacher enters the classroom. At a higher level it has for instance been established which language he is to teach, what aims he has to strive for and how many lessons are available for the programme. In this paper I shall discuss policies at the latter level, i.e. the macro level, and I shall refrain from discussing the micro level, even if decisions at that level should also be looked upon as part and parcel of educational policy-making (cf. Cooper 1988, 148-149). The involvement of the applied linguistic researcher in the process of policy-making is, of course, basically of the same character at both levels, but doubts as to the 'permissibility' of any kind of direct involvement of the applied linguist are less readily expressed in relation to the micro level than to the macro level. Reason enough in itself, it seems, to concentrate on the latter level.

A general remark, even if it is more or less an aside, may be called for at this point. By those who are concerned with language policy and language planning in general, foreign language teaching policy is hardly ever treated as an object of language policy-making. Only two of the more than 25 contributions in Lowenberg (1988) address issues of foreign language teaching policy. In Kennedy (1989) the teaching of English as a *foreign* language is hardly a point of discussion. In particular, discussion of policy-decisions on the choice of English as one option out of more foreign languages is conspicuously absent. Even the paper by Olshtain (1989) in this reader, which comes nearest to it, does not deal with English as a foreign language as a separate problem area. The only researcher who does pay special attention to it, is Stern (1983). Stern, whose ideas I will return to later, observes (p.269): «But the sociology of language has hitherto paid relatively little direct attention to a society's deliberate attempts to develop second language competence and bilingualism by its educational policy».

I have already mentioned in passing the most important questions which come up for discussion at the macro level: which language(s) should be taught, and on what criteria are such choices based? what of the language(s) should be taught, in particular, what aspects and at what level of proficiency? what place is to be allotted to the language(s) in the educational system, that is: to what pupils, in what sector of the educational system, are the foreign languages in question to be taught? (see also Stern 1983: 281). These questions may be summed up as follows: which languages, which of their aspects, to whom, when? The answers are not easy to formulate. In the Dutch context we only have to remind ourselves of the continuous struggle which took place in the early 1970s over the maintenance of French as a compulsory subject in the first form of general secondary education, when such arguments were brought forward

in favour of French as: "the determinative and selective power of French is much greater than that of German or Englisch" (quoted in Van Els 1976b). In order to clarify this very complex decision-taking process somewhat I made an attempt -around 1975- to fit all factors that have to be taken into account, into a hierarchical model. The model is represented schematically in Diagram 1.

Diagram 1: Factors determining the choice of, and between, foreign languages


Needs
1. needs for communicative skills
2. needs which are linked to the communicatives skills, such a familiarity with the culture or the literature of another nation
3. needs which ar not, or at best indirectly, linked to skills in the foreign language, as e.g. learning to think logically
Other factors
1. language policy factors
2. linguistic factors
3. psychological factors
4. educational factors
Policy decisions concerning
1. which language(s)
2. what aspects of the language(s)
3. to whom
4. when

The model was discussed by me for the first time at the tenth anniversary of the 'Institute of Living Languages' of Leuven University in 1975 (cf. Van Els 1976a). Its fullest treatment is to be found in Van Els et al.(1984) and in Van Els & de Jong(1985) (see also Van Els 1981, 1983a, 1983b, 1988; Van Els & Extra 1987). It would lead too far to treat it *in extenso*. There are only two points that I would like to put forward, with some emphasis; other points may come up for discussion later on.

First of all, the three categories of needs carry different weights in policy decisions. Let me quote -in paraphrase- what I have said before in this respect (Van Els & De Jong 1985:16): "When an educational policy has to be devised in which a place is to be claimed for foreign languages besides other subjects, or in which the teaching of one foreign language has to be balanced against that of another, it is evident that the first category of needs, the communicative needs, carries more weight than the second and the second category more than the third. It is evident that the latter

category of needs carries no weight when a choice has to be made between several foreign languages, for it is unlikely that the teaching of one specific language only encourages 'logical reasoning' or that it takes the teaching of more foreign languages than one to accomplish that".

The second point is that an educational policy cannot be based solely on the needs factor. Other factors have to be taken into account as well, if only after needs have been considered. For example, it may be the case that within the context of the European Community the Dutch government has agreed to give particular foreign languages a place in the national school system. Another example of such other factors is the availability of sufficient course materials for the teaching of a particular language or of qualified teachers.

Let us, at this point, consider for a moment -in the light of the above model - the role an applied linguist could play in this type of policy development. It is clear that the raw materials for policy-making can and should be procured from the relevant disciplines. In our discipline it is the applied linguist -whether or not in cooperation with researchers from other disciplines- who is best equipped to provide information on and an insight into such matters as the range and effects of the various factors. But the question is whether the applied linguist, having supplied that kind of information, ought to withdraw and leave the ensuing process of decision-taking entirely to the policy-makers. There can be no doubt that the final decision is always a purely political one in which the applied linguist *per se* cannot have any part. Take, for example, the well-known foreign language needs study conducted some time ago by Claessen et al. (1978). The results show that needs for different foreign languages vary considerably for two of the domains of usage distinguished in the study, viz. 'leisure' and 'work'. The decision -a not altogether unimportant one, we may add- as to which of these domains is to be given priority, is a purely political affair. But, perhaps, the applied linguist should also participate in the actual decision-*making* process. Some say it would be a good thing if he did, because often there is not much readiness to actually reconsider educational policy on the basis of the applied linguist's findings, witness the way Claessen et al.'s (1987) findings have been ignored. Even if, on the other hand, the applied linguist does not feel called upon to play the part of the 'involved campaigner' (Van Els & Oud-de Glas 1983:10), the least he ought to do is to critically assess, in retrospect, whether the educational policy that has been decided on, tallies with the raw materials that his discipline has supplied. It seems to me, however, that the applied linguist's role should not be restricted to commenting on policy decisions: he should also take part in drawing up policy recommendations. This view is also taken by Olshtain (1989:54): "Researchers and experts then prepare a document which incorporates their findings and policy-making recommendations". Only thus can one hope to prevent that deep-seated convictions of the layman will dominate educational policy. I am thinking of a number of convictions that seem to be shared by many non-experts in the country and which we, for example, had to take account of while preparing the NPA, such as the view that the

main problem that vocational and professional people encounter in communicating in a foreign language is specialist vocabulary and the mistaken idea that all FLT shortcomings in the second phase of general secondary education can be put an end to by re-establishing both German, English and French as compulsory exam subjects.

3. *Developments in Foreign Language Teaching Policy in the Netherlands*

It is impossible to give a full picture, in a few lines, of the developments that in the past few decades have taken place in FLT policy in our country with respect to the question what foreign languages should be offered. Fairly extensive and detailed descriptions are available elsewhere (Van Els et al. 1977; Van Els & Radstake 1987). I will restrict myself to highlighting two major events and to focussing on the role and influence of applied linguists.

Since the major re-organization of the Dutch secondary school-system in 1968, when a new education act, the so-called Mammoth Act, became effective, there have been no drastic changes in policy regarding the question what foreign languages should be offered in secondary education. The piecemeal introduction of Spanish as a subject of general secondary education and, on a very limited scale, also of Russian as an exam subject fitted within the framework laid out by the 1968 Act. But there have been attempts to change the policy that are worth mentioning, if only because of their relationship with the proposals of the NPA.

The Mammoth Act laid down that French be taught as a compulsory subject in all first forms of general secondary education. This soon turned out to be problematic for a number of reasons. In 1973 the State Secretary of Education introduced a bill, the main aim of which was to harmonize the curricula of the first forms of general and vocational secondary education and which ruled that only one foreign language be taught as a compulsory subject, without specifying which language should be taught. It was to be expected that all schools would opt for English and many feared that the position of French would be seriously endangered. This led to fierce protests, nation-wide actions and, eventually, a commission from the State Secretary to the Institute of Applied Social Sciences (Nijmegen) for a large-scale investigation of both the interest in and the need for foreign languages in the Netherlands. A number of applied linguists took actively part in the execution of the project and in its supervision. The research project was concluded in 1978 (cf. Claessen et al. 1978). It was a very successful study and it is still unique in its kind (cf. Van Els & Oud-de Glas 1983; Van Els & Extra 1987). However, the research report only presented the research findings the State Secretary had asked for and did not contain any policy recommendations based on these findings. In the meantime the proposal to harmonize the curricula of the first forms of the general and the vocational sectors of secondary education had become part of a far-ranging plan for a full integration of the first phase of secondary education. The State Secretary, therefore, could not use the

research findings for a renewed discussion of the 'Harmonization Bill'. What is worse, however, is that the findings also remained unconsidered when new proposals were subsequently developed for the integrated first phase and for adapting the second phase of secondary education. The group that had supervised the needs project, then decided to volunteer policy recommendations of its own making, to a large extent based on the findings of the project (cf. Smit 1980). However, these recommendations did not have any notable influence on policy-making, even though they received a lot of publicity. For example, in one of the proposals for an integrated first phase two foreign languages were made compulsory for every pupil -the first being English and the second French or German, to be chosen by the pupils after one year of orientation in both languages-, a proposal that cannot be squared with the recommendations of the group.

The Bill for the integrated first phase which is now being discussed, closely follows recommendations for a new system of so-called 'Basic Education' (duration 3 years) that were worked out in 1985 by a government commission, the 'Scientific Council for Government Policy' (WRR). At the request of WRR De Jong and myself had written a working document on the place of foreign languages in 'Basic Education' (cf. Van Els & De Jong 1985). In our recommendations we leaned heavily on the approach that I introduced above and, in particular, on the findings of the needs-project. It was our proposal to abandon the idea that pupils should be free to choose between languages, even if the moment of choice was preceded by a period of orientation, and to make two languages, English and German, compulsory for everyone . The result was that both the WRR and the government, eventually, decided on English as the first compulsory language and on a choice between French and German as the second compulsory language, without a period of orientation, though!

A few years ago English was introduced as a compulsory subject in primary education. We will have to refrain from giving any details (see, for an extensive description, Van Els et al. 1977). It is important to note that expert advice on the introduction of the language was sought from applied linguists of the University of Utrecht and that applied linguists were asked to conduct experiments to gain insight into the conditions for introduction. (cf. Carpay et al. 1972). The recommendation of this group to restrict FLT in primary education to only one language, English, was adopted by the Minister of Education.

Summing up, we can conclude that in the past few decades applied linguists have regularly contributed to developing policy recommendations, partly at the government's request, partly because they themselves chose to do so, with varying degrees of success. Applied linguists have not restricted themselves to providing the raw materials for FLT policy-making.

4. Developments in Foreign Language Teaching Policy Abroad

In general, there is much less activity in other countries with regard to the development of FLT-policy than in the Netherlands and fewer applied linguists are engaged in formulating policy recommendations. With regard to the first point, it appears from surveys of needs research (cf. Van Els & Oud- de Glas 1983; Van Els & Extra 1987) that relatively little needs research has been carried out elsewhere, that the research that has been done is rather variable with respect to research objectives, design and quality of execution, and that -as we have already mentioned- the Dutch needs research project has no equal in the world, except possibly in Belgium where it was replicated (cf. Verdoodt & Sente 1983).

However, a very important development can be reported from Australia. In that country a 'National Policy on Languages' was only recently decided on by the federation (cf. Lo Bianco 1987), which is to serve as a basis for the policies of the separate states. Thus, the State of Victoria has recently worked out its own language policy (cf. Lo Bianco 1989). The special feature of Australian language policy is that it encompasses all languages and all language-teaching in the country, including FLT. The policy was developed on the basis of a very detailed survey of all the languages that are spoken in the country and of all language teaching activities. By the way, demand for and needs of languages have not been investigated to any extent. A major objective of Australia's language policy is to stimulate the creation of language teaching programmes, especially by financing separate projects. Applied linguists have been, and are, very deeply involved, both in the development of the policy recommendations and in their implementation.

In Europe, German applied linguists in particular take an active part in developing FLT policies for their country. K. Schröder, F.J. Zapp and H. Christ are among the most prominent in this respect (cf. e.g. Christ 1981). A striking point in their proposals is that they are looking for ways to curb the ever growing supremacy of English as the first foreign language in most of the States of the Federal Republic, at least to the extent that other languages, in particular French, Spanish and Italian are not altogether pushed aside. They favour a kind of 'controlled' diversification. For some time now France has known an extreme form of 'diversification' of its FLT, which means that pupils in secondary education can, in principle, choose from a great many foreign languages.

Finally, it is striking that recent English-language publications which devote attention to FLT policy, such as Stern (1983) and Olshtain (1989), largely ignore the great number of German- or French-language publications of German applied linguists. The views expressed by Olshtain (1989:48) on how such a policy should be developed, are somewhat disappointing, possibly because of her lack of acquaintance with these publications. Thus, she distinguishes three categories of factors in a 'fact-finding phase' that overlap considerably, which she fails to point out: 1) 'societal needs', 2) 'group and individual attitudes', and 3) 'political, national and economic considerations'. What Stern (1983: 281-282) puts

forward, sounds much better. His proposals for FLT-planning closely resemble the procedures he has worked out elsewhere in his book for language planning in general. Also, the first three of the five phases that he distinguishes are closely parallel to the design that we have chosen for the NPA:

1) a 'fact-finding survey' in which the language situation of the country is investigated, together with the current language teaching efforts and language needs;
2) the development of a 'language plan' (or a number of 'alternative plans'), with a reasoned selection and order of priority of languages that ought to be taught in schools, universities and language centres. To quote Stern (1983: 281) on this point:
   "One or two foreign languages (A or B) may be planned as universally necessary or available in primary, secondary, higher and adult education. Other languages (X, Y or Z) are planned to be offered only in university programmes.....";
3) 'linguistic planning', in which objectives are defined for each of the foreign languages and in which the foundation is laid for curriculum development.

Next in Stern's (1983) model two further phases are distinguished, implementation and evaluation. The discussion of his proposals nicely links up this section with the next section on the NPA.

5. The National Programme of Action for Modern Foreign Languages in the Netherlands

It is hardly feasible to attempt to deal fully with all the aspects either of the project that has led to the development of the NPA., or of the results that it has yielded. Full information on both project and NPA is to be found in the two publications that have resulted from the project (cf. Van Els et al. 1990; Van Hest et al. 1990). First, I will give some background information on the project itself, then I will discuss some of the findings of our investigations and, finally, I will dwell on some major considerations in connection with the recommendations that were drawn up in the Plan.

a. The project

It is generally expected in the Netherlands that the need for foreign language skills will continue to increase (think of 'Europe 1992' and related developments). The Dutch authorities are confronted with ever-growing concerns because of that: will our educational system, which - naturally - has its limitations, be able to cope? My suggestion - which I made at a conference organized jointly by three Dutch ministries in December 1988 - to draw up a broad National Programme of Action , was taken up by the State Secretary of Education and in March 1989 I was commissioned to draw up such a programme before Christmas 1989. All the necessary funds for the project were made available.

The NPA was to be all-encompassing, both with regard to the analysis of 'supply' and 'demand' and in its recommendations. Thus, all the needs for foreign language skills were to be investigated, and not, for example, only those for particular languages or only those of particular target groups or only those related to particular domains of usage. The only restriction applied was contained in the specification 'foreign' languages: we were not commissioned to draw up a plan encompassing *all* languages - as in the Australian language plan -, i.e. a plan in which the place of standard Dutch, of Frisian, of the dialects, of Dutch as a Second language, and of Dutch Sign Language would also be gone into and defined. On the other hand, the plan was to treat the whole supply of foreign language competence in the country, including the foreign language skills of native speakers of the languages concerned resident in the Netherlands - most of them first or second generation immigrants.

The recommendations concern bottlenecks on the supply side. These bottlenecks were spotted and subsequently analysed mainly, but not exclusively, on the basis of very extensive inventories of the demand, of available foreign language skills and of educational supply. The research and inquiries were conducted by research assistants hired for the purpose; part of the research was contracted out to the Institute of Applied Social Sciences. A Working Group and a Resonance Group were formed to take part in the process of tracing the most relevant bottlenecks and of drawing up policy recommendations.

b. The National Programme of Action: Findings and Considerations

In the Netherlands, some searching will quickly produce a wealth of information on supply and demand in foreign languages. A complete picture of supply and demand, however, is not presented in our final report, and we had not committed ourselves to giving such a picture. The limitations of time that we had to observe, played a part of course, but even if we had been granted much more time for the project, a perfectly complete picture would still have been unattainable. For example, even the very rich data of the previous needs research by the Institute of Applied Social Sciences, are very meagre, when questions have to be answered with regard to the precise structure of the language use registered. Moreover, the research data were collected with the help of questionnaires, and we know from research on language loss, for instance, how 'coloured' individual persons' verdicts on their own language deficiencies can be (cf. e.g. Van Els & Weltens 1989). There is a similar problem with our descriptions of the output of our school system: what particular levels of language proficiency represent exactly, we do not know, whereas it is, of course, very obvious that the level distinctions that figure in our, and in other, investigations are very gross and vague.

A very general conclusion concerning the findings of our investigations is that both supply and demand of foreign language skills have increased in the Netherlands over the past few years. To some, the conclusion concerning the supply side may come as a surprise in view of

the ever-increasing complaints about the declining standards of foreign language skills in the country. There is, however, only a seeming contradiction. There are at least two obvious explanations. One is that, whereas individual pupils who have attended a particular sector of our educational system may attain less high levels of competence in, possibly, fewer foreign languages than their counterparts two or three decades ago - the grammar school is a case in point -, it is a fact that a much greater proportion of the population nowadays attends grammar school than before and, thus, at least an equal proportion of the population takes three foreign languages at the highest level in secondary education. The other explanation is that the demand for foreign language skills grows much faster than the supply: there is an increase in the number of *people* who need foreign language skills, there is an increase in the number of *languages* needed, and there is an increase in the *level* of proficiency required for these languages. For detailed information on the findings the reader is referred to Van Hest et al. (1990) in particular; Van Els et al. (1990) presents a summary review of the findings.

And now, finally, let me dwell on some considerations in connection with some of the recommendations. In its recommendations - 34 in all, reflecting on all sectors of the supply side - the NPA addresses not only the national government, but also all other 'actors' in the field, such as the business community that runs its own specialized language courses, and private FLT-institutes.

It is a good thing, too, that there are a number of different actors in the field, since one should not only look to the national school system, let alone (certain sectors of) secondary education, for solutions for the increased and still growing need for foreign language competence. It has been stressed before (cf. e.g. Van Els 1983a), but the NPA spells it out much more cogently: all educational sectors, public and private, will have to join in a division of labour to cover all the FLT needs.

Division of labour implies steering, referred to by Stern (1983:281) as: "a reasoned selection and arrangement of languages in order of priority". Steering may also entail applying certain restrictions in the supply of languages in various sectors of the educational system. In particular with regard to the (re-) organization of our present and future system of secondary education - both first and second phase - there are a number of hotly debated issues. Leaving aside the specific recommendations made by the NPA, let me mention some of the considerations that we think are important in this connection. The number of foreign languages from which pupils can choose in the future first phase of secondary education and from which they can make a selection for their final exams, have to be strictly regulated. 'Equality' of languages does not mean that each language has a right to be learnt in school, and, certainly, does not guarantee a place for each language in any sector of the educational system. The main criterion for establishing priorities among languages, in the Dutch situation, is the size of the needs of the first category, the communicative needs (see Diagram). That, obviously, does not mean - it should be emphasized again - that the actual course content for the

languages which are given priority should be restricted to material related to those 'utilitarian' needs.

Regulating the supply side -and, thus, putting restrictions on it in various sectors- also entails, of course, the need for coherence with respect to the courses offered by the various sectors. No arrangements for the first phase of secondary education without giving proper thought to the consequences for the second phase! In the NPA an attempt is made to present a coherent set of proposals for the whole of first and second phases of secondary education -both general and vocational- and for the various sectors of tertiary education.

Our coherent proposals not only relate to the distribution of the languages over the various sectors, but also to each of these languages individually in as much as they are taught in adjoining sectors of the educational system. Quantitative and qualitative improvement on the supply side can also be achieved within the framework of existing facilities. A major contribution to improving the output can be made by removing a number of problems of connection, between the various levels in the Dutch educational system. It is a well-known fact that these problems are considerable in the case of English in primary schools and the first forms of secondary education, for the first and second phases of secondary education and for the various types of vocational education. There are at least two possibilities to tackle these problems: in the first place, by defining objectives for each of the school types and of their levels much more explicitly and in much greater detail than we have done so far; and, in the second place, by formulating all FLT objectives within one and the same all-encompassing framework. Those who have realised that, due to the vagueness of current objectives, foreign languages have been taught without proper orientation and that a great deal of loss has been the result of that, have been pressing for more explicit and more detailed objectives for a great many years. The development of an all-encompassing framework, moreover, could bring about much more agreement between the sectors of the educational system - including the private sector- and between the various foreign languages. Discussions on the possibility of creating such a framework, then referred to as an "Autonomous Structure" (cf. Smit 1980; Van Els & Slagter 1982; Van Els 1985), date back to the early 80s. According to the NPA the time has now come to seriously attempt to develop such a general framework for FLT in the Netherlands.

There are two further measures by which one may hope to improve the output of FLT in secondary education without drastic changes in the facilities available for foreign languages. The first is directed at properly defining the objectives to be attained at the end of the first phase of general secondary education. At present it is far from clear what competence pupils achieve in the foreign languages in which they do not take their final exams. As a consequence, it is quite common for people to assume that those who decide to drop French or German at the end of the first phase, have not acquired any competence in these languages. Recent foreign language loss research (cf. Weltens 1988; Van Els & Weltens 1989;

Van Els 1989) has revealed that the situation is much less gloomy and that there is a great deal of foreign language competence the existence of which is widely ignored. If only to convince people of this in various sectors of society, but mainly in order to decrease the great variety of levels of competence attained under the present conditions, it is absolutely necessary to define and clearly describe the 'intermediary' level of the first phase of general secondary education. The second measure would be to put an end to the totally undifferentiated, monolithic, provision of foreign languages in the second phase of secondary education: why should one require every one to take one and the same programme for each of the languages selected right up to the final exams? Why not offer pupils the opportunity to obtain certificates only for one or two distinct and self-contained parts of the full programme? In this way attempts could be made to gear the FLT-programme better to the demands of higher education and/or business and commerce. The two measures would lead to a much larger flexibility with respect to organization of the second phase.

Our concluding remark concerns the implementation of the Programme. It is not uncommon for important research reports or plans of this kind to remain without effect. They may attract some publicity and, subsequently, be ignored by the educational authorities and/or politicians. What are the chances of the NPA? There are two reasons for me not to be too pessimistic about the eventual impact of our proposals. One is that the writing of the national programme was commissioned by the State Secretary, largely as a result of pressure from 'consumers' of FLT-programmes in the country, and much less at the urgent request of the educational sector itself, which for instance was the case with the large needs research project of the 70s. As was the case with the successful project which was set up to introduce English into primary education, it was first and foremost an initiative of the authorities themselves. The second reason is that the Minister and the State Secretary of Education have publicly committed themselves in Parliament to use the NPA as the point of departure for future reconsiderations of flt policy.

6. Conclusion

My conclusion regarding the contributions of applied linguists in formulating policy-recommendations will have become clear in the meantime: not only have applied linguists regularly been involved in such activities in the past, the applied linguist is also fully entitled to do so and, I think, has an obligation to do so. Translating research findings and insights into practical policy-recommendations máy be left to the layman, but there is a serious danger that policy-makers may not of their own accord look for such findings and insights. Moreover, the layman can only achieve an adequate translation, if he is very well acquainted with what our discipline has to offer. Otherwise, he may easily disregard useful facts and insights or misrepresent their true meaning.

It is well-known that a researcher who does get involved, often has to take a stand in sensitive issues and sometimes has to soil his hands. Some will blame him for that, but that - I think - can hardly be a reason for keeping aloof in these matters.

* The present text is an adapted version of the paper read on 15th December 1989. Major changes have been introduced in particular in the section that deals with the 'National Programme of Action for Modern Foreign Languages in the Netherlands'. At the time of delivery of the paper the National Programme had not yet been finalised. In the meantime it has been presented to the Minister of Education, so that now its substance can be freely and publicly discussed.

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